









Digitized by the Internet Archive  
in 2009 with funding from  
Ontario Council of University Libraries



MORLEY P.

WATKINS P.

NOT LISTED IN CANADIAN

BOOK PRICES 1950-1962

MONTREAL BOOK AUCTION

CANADA BOOK AUCTION

1967-1982

1  
to  
The Hon, W. S. Fielding  
Ottawa

from  
C Ochiltree Macdonald



THE LAST SIEGE OF LOUISBURG





# THE LAST SIEGE OF LOUISBURG

BY

C. OCHILTREE MACDONALD

MEMBER OF THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF NOVA SCOTIA

PRINTED FOR THE AUTHOR BY  
CASSELL AND COMPANY, LIMITED  
LUDGATE HILL, LONDON, E.C.

ALL RIGHTS RESERVED

## ERRATA

Page 56, line 21, read : its fate ; 59, line 9 : its reflection ; 62, line 31 : Or Regiment Bourgoyne, by Gallic poets praised.  
Page 66, line 9, read : 160 yards ; 71, line 15 : sheets of flame ; 72, line 13 : the gloomy.  
Page 93, line 30, read : hoists mid ; 100, line 20 : Penryn ; 117, read line 26 after "Now meant for mighty deeds" ; 163, line 32 : Louis XIII ; vide also page 175.



# CONTENTS

	PAGE
PREFACE . . . . .	ix
CHAPTER I. . . . .	i
CHAPTER II. . . . .	19
CHAPTER III. . . . .	30
CHAPTER IV. . . . .	40
CHAPTER V. . . . .	51
CHAPTER VI. . . . .	83
CHAPTER VII. . . . .	87
CHAPTER VIII. . . . .	89
CHAPTER IX. . . . .	96
CHAPTER X. . . . .	109
CHAPTER XI. . . . .	121
CHAPTER XII. . . . .	130
CHAPTER XIII. . . . .	134
CHAPTER XIV. . . . .	139
THE REVIVAL OF LOUISBURG . . . . .	143
APPENDICES . . . . .	151





## PREFACE

THE author fears that this effort to depict the last siege of Louisburg does but feeble justice to the dramatic features of that celebrated event; but he hopes that it may attract more competent pens to the task of describing the stirring events that transpired on the peninsula of Louisburg between A.D. 1720 and 1760. The present work had not taken definite form when the writer visited the historic ruins, but as he traversed the streets that once trembled beneath the march of armies, traced the outlines of the fortifications that disturbed the peace of the world, fancifully reconstructed the wharves, warehouses, and magazines that groaned under the commerce of Acadia, pictured the port thronged with merchantmen or surrounded by hostile fleets and armies, and regarded the lonely graveyards where lie the dead of France, of Old and of New England, the idea of issuing a Louisburg memoir in this form took shape. The book is a result of an examination of the histories of Nova Scotia, etc., now before the public; but to the material drawn from those invaluable records of our past is added some interesting matter gleaned by personal research among the records of the eighteenth century in England and the United States. The author, therefore, has some justification for presenting this brief memoir on Louisburg, but he appeals to the *literati* of Canada to do the subject fuller justice.

Louisburg is worthy of the best efforts of the Canadian *litterateur*. The place is classic with the warring policies of rival empires; with the struggles of their veteran armies and the manœuvres of their mighty armadas; the burning, sinking, and scattering of rival fleets; the sortie and the night attack; the escapes of dashing frigates; the entrapping of treasure ships; the expatriation of intimidated citizens; the war-chants of victorious armies; the laments of humiliated veterans; and the decline of a great imperial star. The varying fortunes of Louisburg once filled Old and New England with dismay, or made their cities ring with pæans of victory. By overcoming her scientific defences, the New England Militiamen of 1745 demonstrated the power of the "Colonies" to effect their independence; and the disregard for the safety of British America, shown by the exchange of the stronghold for Madras in A.D. 1748, quickened the seeds of the American Revolution.

Great was Old Louisburg; but now—  
. . . O'er her grassy streets the wayfarer strays,  
Pondering the memories of those departed days.  
Chill breezes pierce her walls, shattered and decaying;  
To Fancy's ear what are those breezes saying?  
The tide of war hath roll'd from th' historic spot;  
The sieges of Louisburg well-nigh are forgot;  
But her heroes beckon us through the mists of time,  
And point us to deeds that now appear sublime.

The *literati* of the nation should therefore turn their attention to Old Louisburg, and tell the story of Cape Breton's royal city to Canada.

The history of Louisburg has, however, claims upon a larger audience than Canada. The decline of a metropolitan city, whose political, ecclesiastical, and civil jurisdictions, military and naval power, and commercial importance made Cape Breton one of the chief Provinces in a Colonial Empire, larger (France boasted) than the Empire of Ancient Rome, is an interesting commentary on the mutability of human affairs; and the consequences of the capitulation of the 27th July, 1758, still merit the reflections of a philosophic mind.

Some variations from earlier narratives of the last siege appear in the memoir, *e.g.* Lord Loudoun's postponement of the second siege, and Admiral Holburne's naval demonstration before Louisburg in A.D. 1757, are dealt with from new points of view, and the conduct of the Commander-in-Chief and Holburne is defended. The expulsion of the Acadians—unhappy victims of the imperial policy of Louisburg—is reviewed and condemned, notwithstanding the late Sir Adam George Archibald's elaborate defence. The conduct of the Marquis de Gouttes, Commodore of the French fleet, during the last siege, who was degraded and imprisoned by the irritated Court of Versailles, is also reviewed with more credit than earlier writers have conceded to that unfortunate nobleman.

The author has failed to discover, from the evidence of his British adversaries, that the Marquis de Gouttes conducted the naval defence of Louisburg in an incapable or cowardly manner, as Sir John Bourinot, a Cape Breton historian, has asserted.

The prevailing impression that the French feebly defended the landing place at Kennington Cove, and

at length fled like demoralised militia to the gates of Louisburg, is unfair to the old masters of Ile Royale.

The historian should not overlook the fact that there were untrustworthy mercenaries in the French lines and the exhaustion of the Cambise Regiment by a long march from St. Anne's to Kennington Cove.

Of the French forces despatched to the succour of Cape Breton late in 1757, and early in 1758, some were beaten back by British squadrons; but a division, including the *Prudent*, *Entreprenant*, *Bienfaisant*, *Capricieux*, *Appollon*, and *Célèbre*, all subsequently burned, sunk, or captured at Louisburg, and the *Comète*, which escaped from that port, succeeded in reaching Cape Breton. This division carried 550 men of the *Volontaires Étranger* (German mercenaries), and 600 men of the Cambise Regiment. The transports carrying the *Volontaires Étranger* reached Louisburg, but those carrying the Regiment Cambise, failing to get in owing to the vigilance of the British, ran for St. Anne's, a sub-fort of Louisburg, whence the regiment marched to Kennington Cove. This fatiguing march to Gabarous must have left the Cambise Regiment in poor condition to encounter the British next day. It therefore appears that at the battle of Kennington Cove, some 3,200 regular and irregular French troops—650 of the former worn with arduous marching—helped by a band of Indians under a celebrated chief, but embarrassed by 600 disloyal mercenaries and (the apparent) imminence of a rear attack through Lorambec, opposed nearly 12,000 British troops, supported by 41 Warships, at three points. The result could not have been other than it was under such circumstances; and the hasty retreat of the French into a city perilously



ungarrisoned to permit them to take the field, was proper military tactics. Whatever disorder marked the retreat into Louisburg may be fairly ascribed, for the most part at least, to the conduct of the fleeing mercenaries.

The author notices that British historians of the last siege do not criticise the British plan of attack upon Louisburg. They might fairly have done so, for if General Amherst's strategy had been better, Louisburg must have fallen at the battle of Kennington Cove. The environs of the city were familiar to the invaders, and Brigadier-General Lawrence, the Governor of Nova Scotia, had himself been stationed there. The city and its vulnerable points were therefore known; and General Amherst had opportunities to reconnoitre the French naval and military forces before the grand army landed. The attacking force was disposed well; and the despatch of the 28th Regiment towards Lorambec shows that Amherst realised that Louisburg could be assailed through a point to the eastward, as well as through Kennington Cove. If Amherst had landed the 28th Regiment at Lorambec and marched it, supported by other troops, towards Louisburg, while Wolfe, Whitemore, and Lawrence forced the Gabarous lines, the retreating French would have been taken in the rear and cut off from the City. The feeble temporary garrison of Louisburg (300 men) must then have capitulated; the disastrous defeat of the second army of England at Ticonderoga would have been averted by the immediate advance of the victors on Quebec; and the conquest of Canada might have been accomplished in A.D. 1758.

General Amherst's failure to attack Louisburg through both Lorambec and Gabarous is difficult to

explain ; but the fact that his failure to do so increased the difficulties of reducing the city, prolonged the siege, contributed to the defeat of the second army of England at Ticonderoga, and delayed the conquest of Canada cannot be overlooked in a review of the last siege of Louisburg.

Although more than a decade has rolled away since the United States Society of Colonial Wars raised upon the ruins of Louisburg a memorial to the first siege, neither Britain nor Canada has yet raised a similar memorial to the last siege. But, through the efforts of Mr. D. J. Kennelly, K.C., of Louisburg, this oversight is to be repaired as funds become available. Mr. Kennelly, long identified with the trade of the neighbouring coalfield, is now devoting his leisure to the establishment of a suitable monument ; and he has organised a "Louisburg Memorial Fund," under the patronage of His Majesty the King, for that patriotic purpose. The committee in charge of the fund has taken steps, under Mr. Kennelly's supervision, to preserve the last relics of the old fortress ; and the progress made up to the beginning of 1906 is noted in the following report to the Honourable George H. Murray, K.C., Premier of Nova Scotia, chairman of the committee :—

" The work of protecting the ruins of the old French fortress at Louisburg, about to come to the ground, was undertaken in November, 1903, by the removal from the roofs of the two sets of the bombproofs (north and south), of some of what had been the protecting covering of stones and earth, of about the thickness of three feet. In the middle of the southern bombproof a large block of

the roof had fallen in; this was filled with cemented masonry, and the bombproofs, having been shored, buttressed, and cribbed, from within, so as to enable them to withstand the coming winter, work ceased for the year.

"In 1904 work was resumed on May 27th, and continued down to December 30th. The roofs of the bombproofs were completely stripped to the stone work of their arches, well cleaned, and a blanket of cement, about three inches in thickness, was laid over the roofs.

"The *débris* removed from the roofs, and from around the bombproofs, was used in the construction of about seven hundred feet of road leading from the main country road to the bombproofs, and to the moat facing the monument erected by the Society of Colonial Wars.

"The foundation base of the memorial tower was also excavated and a hole driven to test the solidity of the ground, which was found suitable.

"No additional work was done on the northern bombproof, owing to the circumstances that ownership was claimed by a resident of Canada, but this hindrance has now been overcome.

"During the year 1905, owing to the lateness of the spring, work was not resumed until the latter end of June.

"On inspecting the bombproofs they were found tight for the first time in the many years of their ruptured past.

"The supports of the rear walls of the southern group were removed, and, where found weak, were thoroughly repaired.

"The outside walls having been cleared of their earth covering, were also cemented.

"Inside the group the arches were cemented, the floors were cleared of the accumulations of nearly a century and a half, and laid with broken stone for cement work."

It is believed that the committee will erect a memorial tower on the site of the city, after the ruins are as far as possible made proof against the further ravages of time. This tower will doubtless be used as a museum for the preservation of relics of the forts and the city they enclosed, and maintained as a national monument on the spot where France made her last stand in Acadia.

This memorial should not, however, exclusively commemorate the valour of the Imperial forces of Britain and France. The declaration of Brigadier-General Lawrence, Governor of Nova Scotia, on July 7th, 1758, that the Rangers raised in New England did great honour to themselves and the country they came from at the battle of Kennington Cove, should also be acknowledged.

This it is hoped will be chivalrously accomplished by the founders of the Louisburg memorial, who did not need to be reminded that the bold New Englanders who stormed the Gabarous lines were British citizens, and that as such they shed their blood to vest the key of Canada in the British Empire.

In the verse the author has occasionally availed himself of the Poet's licence.

THE AUTHOR.

HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA.

May 17th, 1907.

# THE LAST SIEGE OF LOUISBURG

## CHAPTER I.

TOWARDS the close of the reign of Louis XIV. the imperial star of France, which blazed with the martial achievements of Condé, Turenne, Vauban, Luxembourg, Catinat, Vendôme, Boufflers, and Créqui, was dimmed by the victories of Marlborough and Prince Eugene; and its lustre further declined in A.D. 1713, when Britain wrested the "Gates of Canada" from the "invincible" descendant of Hugh Capet.

This much-lauded triumph was, however, seriously compromised by the weak concession to France of a naval and military base in those magnificent portals.

The strategic point in the "Gates of Canada," thus skilfully retained by the Princes of the House of Bourbon, was Cape Breton, a rich and partially fortified island on the Europe-American trade routes, at the entrance to the St. Lawrence.

From this historic isle, renamed Ile Royale, France overlooked the rising empires of the New World, recruited her navies with seamen, and extended her foreign trade; and upon the eastern coast the Most Christian King laid the foundation of the forts of Louisburg, in A.D. 1720. These great forts became the pivot of French power in the North Atlantic, and the acknowledged military key of Canada, and from them France assailed Britain's communications with North America.

The important city they enclosed became the commercial metropolis of Acadia, and deep laden ships from Canada, Newfoundland and France, St. Domingo, Martinique, New England and Nova Scotia thronged its busy wharves. The profits of her merchant princes were reputed to be vast ; and their encroachments upon British trade at length provoked the jealousies of New England.

The creation of this French citadel on the edge of the North Atlantic trade routes, and its strategic sub-forts at St. Anne and St. Peter's, also alarmed New England ; and more distant Britain, startled at the consequences of her feeble diplomacy at Utrecht, watched the growing importance of Louisburg with similar dismay.

Louisburg's relations with the Acadians particularly disturbed New England ; and these misgivings were intensified by the efforts of the Court of Versailles to preserve their hereditary attachment to France. The Acadians, who acknowledged La Rochelle, Saintonge, Poitou, and Paris as their mother country, by practising their forefathers' expedient of wresting rich marsh lands from the Bay of Biscay, had obtained possession of the choicest agricultural districts in Nova Scotia, and their relations with the Brito-Colonial states to the south seemed full of promise. They consumed British manufactures, exported fish, oils, furs, etc., to New England ; and their industry, morality, numbers, and wealth made them increasingly valuable to the Empire.

The creation of Louisburg disturbed these conditions. As the neighbouring Bourbon metropolis grew the Acadians established with it (*via* Bay Verte) a food export trade, through which they absorbed much of the French gold expended in Cape Breton ; and this lucrative traffic opened a channel through which French manufactured goods could penetrate into the Nova Scotian parishes. This commercial intercourse



between Louisburg and the Acadians naturally excited dissatisfaction in New England, especially as it might lead to political relations prejudicial to the British *régime*; and the situation became embarrassing when Louisburg's Micmac Indian allies (who were believed to be intimate with the Acadians) declared war upon the British. The Indians began hostilities by the sack of the New England fishing station at Canso, Nova Scotia, in retaliation for the seizure of two French ships at that place by H.M.S. *Squirrel*. Four Englishmen lost their lives, but others accomplished a difficult retreat to the ships in the port, from which they watched the removal of their merchandise, to the value of £20,000 currency, in French vessels. Two days later a fleet of British sloops, crowded with Canso folk, pursued and captured six of these ships; and indignant remonstrances were despatched to the Governor of Louisburg, who declared that the Micmacs were not French subjects, and he could not interfere with them. But he subsequently assisted Canso to recover some of its property, when the depositions of the captured French crews established the complicity of the subjects of His Most Christian Majesty at Petit de Grat, Cape Breton.

Canso, although strengthened by troops from Annapolis, the capital of Nova Scotia, was re-assailed, with further loss of life to New England; 16 Massachusetts vessels were seized on the southern coast of Nova Scotia, and numbers of vessels in the Bay of Fundy; the reduction of Annapolis by famine was attempted; and the Indians intimidated British commerce by cruising the coast in the captured ships, which were navigated by their unwilling prisoners. Canso despatched ships in pursuit; and the Indian navy surrendered in a Nova Scotian port, with great loss to the Micmacs, who declared that Louisburg had incited them to commit these hostilities. After this check the war, which had spread to the confines of New England, languished in

#### 4 THE LAST SIEGE OF LOUISBURG.

Nova Scotia; but it was revived, and the Indians marched from Isle Haut through Mines to Annapolis. An Acadian vessel seized by the Commandant of Canso, for illegally carrying cattle from Bay Verte to Louisburg, was also recaptured by them at her anchorage in the Gut of Canso; and the Governor of Nova Scotia, incensed at these disorders, despatched a second protest to Louisburg. The French Governor disclaimed any connection with the Indian belligerents, and hostilities continued till, checked at the sack of Norridgewock by the New England Militia, the war at length terminated, and Nova Scotia enjoyed a needed tranquillity through the exertions of the Southern Colonies.

Meanwhile the imperial star of France steadily rose into the ascendant in Cape Breton; and the forts of Louisburg loomed formidably over the northern seas. French sub-forts at St. Peter's and St. John's (Prince Edward's Island) also frowned upon the defenceless British frontiers; and Paul Mascarene, the Governor of Nova Scotia, at length appealed to the Imperial Ministers for scientific fortifications. The Indian War broke out again in 1743; and the Micmacs, led by the French priest, Le Loutre, one of the most sinister personalities in Nova Scotian history, again attacked Annapolis. The Franco-British war was also renewed in the following year; and Louisburg commenced open hostilities against Nova Scotia by despatching M. du Vivier (a great-grandson of Charles la Tour) against Canso and Annapolis with a land and sea force.

The invaders formed a junction with an Indian Army before Canso; the headquarters of the New England Fishing industry was once more sacked; and the Micmac-Malicate army, led by Belleisle and Le Loutre, then turned its arms against the capital, to which the approach of a land and sea force from Louisburg was exultantly announced.

The resolute resistance of Annapolis, opportunely succoured by New England, however, discomfited the

Indian army, which sullenly retreated to Mines. Meanwhile Du Vivier landed at Bay Verte, and marched through Chignecto and Mines, imperiously calling the French Nova Scotians to the standard of France. The Acadians ignored his arrogant overtures, and, compelled to act alone, the aide major of Louisburg conducted 60 Imperial troops, several hundred Militia, and 450 Indians to Annapolis, to effect a junction with three warships of 70, 60, and 40 guns, and a transport with 250 men, artillery, mortars, and other implements of war, from Louisburg. Annapolis obstinately resisted the renewed assaults of Louisburg; and, at the end of a 30 days' siege, the French trumpets sounded the signal of retreat. After a tedious retrograde movement through the Acadian forests, during which the Louisburg armada reached and retired from Annapolis with two Boston store-ships captured in the Basin, the Indo-French Army arrived at Mines. The French Nova Scotians received it inhospitably; their compatriots at Chignecto refused it winter quarters; and the aspirant conqueror of Nova Scotia, forced by the loyalty of the Acadians to evacuate the Peninsula, hastened to France to solicit a more formidable armament from the Court of Versailles. Anxious to recover the strategic Peninsula of Acadia, the French Government condoned his failure and equipped him with a more adequate force; and the descendant of Charles la Tour sailed from Europe with seven warships to make another effort to expel the British from Nova Scotia.

Meanwhile New England was roused. Her lucrative fisheries and her hopes of wresting the monopoly of the Mediterranean fish trade from France were ruined. Newfoundland lay perilously isolated by Louisburg ships; the maritime frontiers of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New York were imperilled; and the Louisburg privateersmen threatened to annihilate Anglo-American commerce.

Alarmed at the menacing aspect of Anglo-French

affairs, wounded in her commerce, perplexed by the perils of Nova Scotia, a province peculiarly susceptible to the influence of Louisburg, whose feeble garrisons she was obliged to support, and apprehensive that Cape Breton would become the base of fleets and armies for the devastation of maritime America, New England at length determined to attack her northern rival. The idea was not new. The retrieval of the error of Utrecht, doubtless, early occurred to the warlike race which had fixed its ambitions upon the commerce of the East and the sovereignty of the West; and the Governors of New York had thrice (in A.D. 1733, 1741, and 1743) drawn the attention of the Imperial Ministers to the policy of reducing Louisburg. Early in 1744 Robert Auckmuty, Judge of the Vice-Admiralty Court of Massachusetts and New Hampshire, also advocated the project; the stir caused by the arrival at Boston of the garrison expelled from Canso by Du Vivier during the same year encouraged the idea; and towards the end of A.D. 1744 the leaguer of Louisburg was definitely proposed to the Governor of Massachusetts by William Vaughan. The difficulty of capturing Louisburg was well understood; military men in the Motherland considered the stronghold impregnable, and descriptions of its vast scientific defences were "household words" in New England. But, impelled by the necessities of the situation, and stimulated by petitions from Boston, Salem, and Marblehead, a call to arms was issued by the Parliament of Massachusetts, and in A.D. 1745 the Colonial standards were raised against Louisburg. Eight Massachusetts and Maine, one Connecticut, and one New Hampshire Regiment assembled around them. Rhode Island recruited a useful reserve; the Parliament of New York subsidised the expedition to the extent of £5,000 and ten cannon, and the public of the Province to the extent of £4,000, and Pennsylvania contributed supplies to the commissariat. A small fleet was hastily assembled, the aid of the Im-

perial navy was invoked, and, after a day of fast and prayer, the Colonial armada left Nantasket Roads under Colonel Pepperrell, blessed by George Whitefield, one of the founders of Methodism, who suggested the motto "Nil Desperandum Christo Duce" for the flag of the New Hampshire Regiment. The fleet passed through imminent perils on the storm-swept waters between Boston and Nova Scotia; but, early in April, it safely reached the north-eastern end of the Peninsula, and the army encamped on the bloodstained soil of Canso. There, the troops, who included some veterans, were continuously drilled while the loose ice drifted off the coast. An 8-gun fort was built, and the neighbouring French fort at St. Peter's (a sub-fort of Louisburg) was destroyed. To isolate Louisburg from food, its trade communications with the Acadians were cut at Bay Verte. A large French brig laden with rum and molasses, bound to Louisburg from Martinique, was captured; the 36-gun frigate *Renommée*, bearing despatches to the Governor of Ile Royale, was driven back to France by the Massachusetts cruisers; and, on April 30th, strengthened by imperial ships from the West Indian and Newfoundland stations, the Colonial armada dropped anchor before Louisburg.

The army immediately disembarked at Flat Point Cove, after a skirmish with M. Boularderie and 150 men, of whom 18 were killed or taken prisoners; and the quixotic siege of a scientific fortress, holding 2,250 troops, by 4,070 Militiamen deficient in artillery and camp equipments began!

Meanwhile the New England navy of 13 brigs and sloops, armed with 200 guns—the modest prototype of the powerful navy of the United States—haughtily blockaded the Port; and the more warlike squadron of 10 ships armed with 500 guns, despatched to its support by the Imperial Ministry, also displayed to Louisburg the dreaded power of England.

Belknap (*Hist. of New Hampshire*) relates that the



## 8 THE LAST SIEGE OF LOUISBURG.

rear of the besiegers was a scene of confusion, and that while some were on duty at the trenches, others passed their time in racing, wrestling, pitching quarts, firing at marks or birds, or running after the shot from the French guns, which were sent back to the city.

The New England men proved formidable foes, however; the first shot they fired into the city killed 14 men; and, seizing the Grand Battery, they turned its 30 guns against the fortress. The artillery duel between the New Hampshire gunners in the Grand Battery, and the Island Battery and the city forts, was a decidedly spectacular feature of the siege, which in some measure prepared the French for the sequel. The besiegers next planted a battery 1,550 yards from the West Gate, a second 600 yards nearer, which raked the city from end to end, and a third 440 yards from the city, between the Barrachois and the West Gate. This produced a sortie by the French, which was beaten back. Eight days afterwards the besiegers raised 30 French cannon from the bottom of the north-east harbour, near the Lighthouse, and later turned them on the Island Battery at a range of 1,000 yards. A determined attempt by the French to recover these guns was repulsed; a fifth battery was raised against the city and armed with captured guns; a sixth raised only 250 yards from the West Gate, demolished the drawbridge and part of the adjoining wall; a fire ship despatched against the city in the dead of night from the Grand Battery burnt three vessels, beat down a pinnacle of the King's Gate, almost demolished a stone house, and filled Louisburg with consternation; scouting parties kept the surrounding country clear of the reinforcements despatched overland to Louisburg; the fleet beat back or captured the succour forwarded by sea; and the Island Battery was abortively stormed by 400 men, in whaleboats, with a loss of 176 men, killed and captured. The trenches of the besiegers at length approached so near

the city that the French drank to and conversed with them from the walls. The anniversary of the Accession of George II. (June 11th) was celebrated by a vigorous bombardment of the city from noon to nightfall; the French gunners were driven off the platform of the Island Battery; the cannon hastily brought up to strengthen the defences of the West Gate were silenced; bombs and red-hot shot poured steadily into the city; and preparations were at length made for a general assault by land and sea. At this crisis, and after a gallant defence of 47 days—the Grand Battery being lost; the Island Battery, which the French esteemed the palladium of Louisburg, almost annihilated by the Lighthouse Battery; the North East Battery being damaged and so exposed that the artillerymen could not stand to their guns; the Circular Battery ruined and all its guns but three dismantled; the harbour being, in short, disarmed of all its principal Batteries; the West Gate demolished, and the adjoining wall breached; the west flank of the King's Bastion almost ruined, and most of the guns mounted during the siege silenced; the houses and state buildings being demolished or damaged, the ammunition almost exhausted—extremely harassed by a long confinement in casemates and other covered holds, the city capitulated to avoid the horrors of an assault; and on June 17th the invaders marched with shouts of triumph through her wide flung open gates.

As they entered the city they, for the first time, realised the strength of the capital of Ile Royale; and gazing in surprise at its massive defences, they characteristically exclaimed: "God has gone out of His way in a remarkable manner to incline the French to deliver this strong city into our hands." The French flag was left flying upon the ramparts to decoy the enemy's shipping into the port; and the Brito-Colonial fleet, strengthened by its conquests, drew up in the harbour in the following order of battle:—



# 10 THE LAST SIEGE OF LOUISBURG.

ARMED PRIVATEERS.		WARSHIPS.	
	GUNS		GUNS
The <i>Bien Aimé</i> . . .	30	The <i>Hector</i> . . .	40
The <i>Massachusetts</i> . . .	24	The <i>Eltham</i> . . .	40
The <i>Prince of Orange</i> . . .	14	The <i>Chester</i> . . .	50
The <i>Boston Packet</i> . . .	14	The <i>Princess Marie</i> . . .	60
The <i>Kam</i> . . .	12	The <i>Canterbury</i> . . .	60
The <i>Mullinnox</i> . . .	16	The <i>Superbe</i> . . .	60
The <i>Shirley</i> . . .	24	The <i>Vigilant</i> . . .	62
The <i>Tastard</i> . . .	14	The <i>Sunderland</i> . . .	60
The <i>Cesar</i> . . .	14	The <i>Launceston</i> . . .	40
The <i>Defense</i> . . .	12	The <i>Mermaid</i> . . .	40
The <i>Resolution</i> . . .	16	The <i>Ark</i> . . .	40

Meanwhile New England was waiting to see "how Providence would order the affair," and religious meetings were being held to pray for the success of the Colonial arms before Louisburg. At length, at 1 a.m. on July 3rd, the long hoped for tidings of the fall of the city arrived.

And from the spires of Boston chime joyful peals of bells,  
 And in her streets and bye-lanes loud rejoicing swells;  
 Lights shine from every window and the taverns ring  
 With cheers and acclamations to th' Hannov'rian King.  
 From the Harbour Batteries cannon loudly boom,  
 And full a hundred bonfires flash into the gloom.  
 High o'er Fort Hill they blaze thro' the shades of night,  
 Filling the joyful town with a prodigious light.  
 Responsive beacons from neighbouring hamlets spring,  
 And o'er the peaceful lea humbler joy bells ring;  
 From the crowded shipping rockets soar on high,  
 Scattering constellations in the sombre sky.  
 Mast on mast, and yard on yard, festoon'd lanterns beam,  
 Reflected picturesquely in the tranquil stream;  
 And as the hardy mariner the town's rejoicing hears,  
 From the storm worn barks roll exultant cheers.

And louder boom the cannon, and louder peal the bells,  
 And louder thro' the night the wild rejoicing swells,  
 As towards the Gov'nor's house, where the concourse  
     meets,  
 Veterans of the siege parade the narrow streets.  
 'Mid the haughty peal of trumps and shouts of joy and  
     pride,  
 The heroes of New England march proudly side by  
     side ;  
 And as they pass fond mothers to their children tell,  
 How they'd captured Louisburg with General Pepperrell  
 Their tattered standard waving o'er the surging throng,  
 They chant an epic of the siege as they march along :  
 Of the fray at Gabarous, the Grand Battery's fall,  
 And the deeds of daring done 'fore the city wall ;  
 Th' attack on Battery Island, the march towards  
     Scatterie,  
 The raid to Mira River, and vict'ries on the sea ;  
 And louder shouts arise as, last, they proudly sing,  
 How they'd raised o'er Louisburg the banner of the  
     King.

The news spread like wildfire through the "Colonies," and the people, not witting that England would relinquish the stronghold to France for an East Indian trading station, received it with joy. Bells rang in the spires of the Colonial metropolis, and a thanksgiving sermon was preached in South Church, Boston, by the Reverend Thomas Prince, M.A., from the text : "This is the Lord's doing, and it is marvellous in our eyes."

After moralising on the capture of the dreaded northern city, and ascribing it to the direct interference of Heaven, the preacher pointed out that the Island of Cape Breton originally formed part of the British Empire as the north-eastern extremity of New England, and he eloquently explained its importance to the Empire in the following terms:—

"The Island abounds in the best coal known in

America. The coal lies so near the surface and the coast that it can be easily dug and put in vessels, which carry it to Guardaloupe and Martinico, for the refining of sugar. The commodious harbours of Cape Breton, its situation in the centre of our fisheries and on the trade routes between Europe and British America, render it of such vast importance to the Empire that, when the Tory ministry resigned it to France at the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, all true-hearted Britons, who knew the circumstances, lamented that fatal act as full of teeming mischief to British trade. Through her control of Cape Breton France has enlarged her commerce, wealth and shipping, and obtained more and more control of the trade with Spain, Portugal, and Italy. She has also built the walled city of Louisburg on the edge of the most convenient port, and for 30 years she has added to its natural and artificial strength by the expenditure of immense sums, until the place has become one of the strongest fortresses in America. For 20 years it has seemed to me worth while engaging in a war with France, if for nothing else but to recover Cape Breton to the British Empire. Owing to the existence of its strong fortress, coal mines, fisheries and the free lands offered by the Government, thousands of people have already settled there and on the neighbouring isles; and the innumerable poor of the sea-coast towns of France were coming over to them in such numbers that it seems highly probable that, if the Peace had continued much longer, there would have been sufficient inhabitants there to endanger the English Colonies. When the war broke out the French issued from Louisburg and infested our coasts. They seized our shipping, ruined our fishing industry and trade, destroyed Canso, invaded Annapolis, reduced us to straits, and carried our people captives into the almost impregnable city which formed a safe retreat for their warships, privateers, and West and East Indian fleets." Mr. Prince described how these ravages pro-

voked New England to invade Cape Breton, and commented on the fact that, although hundreds of New Englandmen had been lost in the expedition to Carthage, hundreds more—"owners or heirs of land, and many religious"—had willingly listed as private soldiers for the small wage of 25s. per month (new tenor), to serve their God, their King, and Country, in the hazardous expedition against Louisburg!

The delight of New England was also expressed by a writer in Ames' Almanac, in the following poetic measure:—

"Bright Hesperus, the harbinger of day,  
Smiled gently down on Shirley's prosperous sway,  
The Prince of Light rode in his burning car,  
To see the overtures of Peace and War,  
Around the world; and bade his charioteer,  
Who marks the periods of each month and year,  
Rein in his steeds, and rest upon high noon,  
To view our victory at Cape Breton."

The tidings reached New York about July 10th, and created a great sensation. The city was splendidly illuminated, and "the greatest demonstrations of joy appeared in every man's countenance." A local poet celebrated the metropolis's exultation in the columns of the *Weekly Post Boy* in the following enthusiastic lines:—

"When glorious Anne Britannia's sceptre swayed,  
And Lewis strove all Europe to invade,  
Great Marlborough, then in Blenheim's hostile fields,  
With Britain's sons, o'erthrew the Gallic shields.  
The Western world, and Pepp'rell now may claim  
As equal honour, and as lasting fame;  
And Warren's merit will in story last,  
Till future ages have forgot the past."

And a contemporary of the *Post Boy* showed that the rejoicings of the capital were loudly echoed among the

## 14 THE LAST SIEGE OF LOUISBURG.

peasantry, by publishing the following letter from Jamaica, Long Island:—

“The good news of the surrender of Cape Breton, coming to us in the middle of our harvest, obliged us to defer the time of public rejoicing till yesterday, when the magistrates, military officers, and many other gentlemen, etc., of this country, met at this place, feasted together, and at night gave a tub of punch at a fine bonfire, drank the public health, and especially of the valiant commander immediately concerned in this great action, and joined in chorus, to the following song:—

“ ‘Let all true subjects now rejoice,  
The sev’nteenth day of June,  
On Monday morning in a trice  
We sung the French a tune.  
A glorious peace we shall have soon,  
For we have conquered Cape Breton,  
With a fa la la.

“ ‘Brave Warren and bold Pepperrell,  
Stout Walcot, and the rest,  
Of British heroes, with good will,  
Entered the hornet’s nest.  
A glorious peace we shall have soon,  
For we have conquered Cape Breton,  
With a fa la la.

“ ‘A health let’s to King George advance  
That he may long remain  
To curb the arrogance of France  
And haughtiness of Spain.  
A glorious peace we shall have soon,  
For we have conquered Cape Breton,  
With a fa la la.’ ”

That a band of artisans and husbandmen, commanded by a merchant, should capture a fortress which had taken 25 years to build, was undoubtedly a noteworthy event, and, as Hannay has observed, had such a deed of arms been done in Greece 2,000 years ago, it would have been made the theme of innumerable commentaries, great statesmen would have written pamphlets on the subject, and poets would have wedded it to immortal verse. But, as the people who won this signal triumph for the British Empire were neither Greeks nor Romans, but only colonists, the affair has almost dropped out of sight in British history. A monument has, however, been erected at Louisburg by the United States Society of Colonial Wars, to commemorate this remarkable event. It stands a few hundred yards from the shores of the Harbour, near the spot where General Pepperrell received the keys of the fortress from Governor Duchambon, and the following inscriptions are engraved on the die:—

ON THE FRONT:

TO COMMEMORATE THE CAPTURE OF LOUISBURG, A.D. 1745.  
ERECTED BY THE SOCIETY OF COLONIAL WARS.

ON THE BACK:

TO OUR HEROIC DEAD.

ON THE LEFT SIDE:

FRENCH FORCES, 2,500 REGULARS, MILITIA, AND SEAMEN,  
UNDER GOV. DUCHAMBON.

ON THE RIGHT SIDE:

PROVINCIAL FORCES, MASSACHUSETTS BAY, CONNECTICUT,  
NEW HAMPSHIRE, 4,000 MEN, UNDER LIEUT.-GEN.

PEPPERRELL.

BRITISH FLEET TEN SAIL, 500 GUNS, UNDER COMMODORE  
WARREN.

PROVINCIAL FLEET, SIXTEEN ARMED VESSELS,  
NINETY TRANSPORTS, 240 GUNS, UNDER CAPTAIN TYNG.



## 16 THE LAST SIEGE OF LOUISBURG.

The monument was unveiled on June 17th, 1895, by Lieutenant-Governor Daly, of Nova Scotia, who said: "The memorial is not erected to commemorate a triumph over a fallen foe, but to keep alive the memory of the New Englanders who, with the aid of the British fleet, captured the strongest fortress in America; and to commemorate the valour of the men who defended it." The Society of Colonial Wars was well represented at the historic ceremony. The Government of Nova Scotia was also represented; patriotic speeches were made, and the bravery of the defenders of the city was extolled.

The memorial was dedicated by Everett Pepperrell Wheeler, who said, in part, as follows:—

"The Roman historian tells us that the leaders of his time used to say that, when they looked on the statues of their ancestors, their souls were stirred with a passion of virtue. It was not the marble, nor the features that in themselves had force. But the memory of their noble deeds kindled a flame in the breasts of their descendants, which could not be quenched until their actions had equalled the renown of their fathers.

"In like manner we dedicate this monument in a spirit of gratitude to God, and noble emulation for the heroism of man. No narrow spirit of local self-gratulation has brought us hither. We are glad to recognise that British sailors and Colonial soldiers shared in the difficulties and dangers of the siege, whose successful issue we celebrate to-day. And we acknowledge the courage and endurance of the garrison, who, cut off from succour, and short of provisions, offered brave resistance for seven weeks to the British fleet and the regiments of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Connecticut.

"In the Parliament of Quebec questions have been put to the Government, indicating that the Member who asked them thought that this monument was erected in a spirit of triumph over a fallen foe. To him



I reply that we have not thus learned the lessons of history. This column points upwards to the stars, and away from petty jealousies. It will tell, we trust, to many generations the story of the courage, heroic fortitude, and energy of those who fought behind the ramparts, as well as of those who fought in the trenches.

. . . . The men who stood in the trenches at Louisburg were the best men of their Colonies. They came hither inspired by no greed of conquest. Their expedition was really a defensive one. Their commerce had been assailed, their frontier settlements ravaged, their wives and children massacred, or carried into captivity. Louisburg was the harbour where the French privateers found refuge, and whence marauding expeditions sailed forth. Its massive walls were 25 years in building. Time has dealt hardly with these; but their ruins still bear witness to what was called, at the time, the 'Dunkirk of America.'

"They (the Colonists engaged) were the most resolute and fearless of a resolute and fearless race. They were inured to hardships by constant struggle with Nature. They had built their own houses, and their own ships; had cleared forests, and ploughed fields. The exigency of the situation made them ready for any emergency. . . . They sailed (from Canseau) to Louisburg; on April 30th they landed, and, after seven weeks of toil and peril, diversified, as we learn, when they were off duty, by games and sports, the fortress was theirs. . . . The remote consequences of this expedition transcend in importance the immediate ones. It was a school of arms for the Colonial troops. Gridley, who planned the parallels and trenches, subsequently laid out the fortifications of Bunker Hill. The success of the expedition showed the Colonies their power, and the necessity for their union. . . .

"We dedicate this monument to the memory of all the brave men of St. George, or the lilies of France. The morning sun will illumine its summit. The sunset

will gild its simple outline. The storms and fog of Cape Breton will gather around it. In sunshine and storm alike, let it tell to all mankind that the courage and resolution of the fathers live in the hearts of their children; that we are prepared to face the conflict, the difficulties, and the perils of the coming century, in firm reliance upon the protecting care of the God who was with our fathers."

Near the column are the "Old Graveyards" at Point Rochefort and near Cape Noir, where lie the ashes of the French and New Englanders who lost their lives during the siege and occupation; and the "waves of the restless ocean" still sing a requiem over their lonely tombs.

## CHAPTER II.

THE fall of "The Dunkirk of the West" created a great sensation in England, as it relieved British trade from extreme peril, and demonstrated the ability of the "Colonies" to cope with the disciplined forces and scientific defences of a European power. Public rejoicing was universal; a hymn to victory was published; and hearty congratulations poured in on the Second George. Salutes boomed from the batteries of the Tower; Cheapside and the Strand were brilliantly illuminated, and joy bells pealed. In the Provinces, as at Berkhamstead, Hertfordshire, "extraordinary rejoicings" loudly echoed the delight of the metropolis; guns were fired from the finely illuminated church steeples, the house windows blazed with candles, the red glare of bonfires reddened the streets and shires, and barrels of beer were liberally distributed by the gentry to the shouting populace.

The Court signified its satisfaction by creating Pepperrell a Baronet of Great Britain, and Commodore Warren a Rear-Admiral of the Blue; and the national Press exultantly reviewed each phase of the Louisburg *coup de guerre*.

"The reduction of the Island of Cape Breton," said the London *General Evening Post*, "is a piece of news of so great consequence, and does so much honour to the officers concerned therein, and to the Colony that had so large a share in the great enterprise, that, without doubt, the reader will be very well pleased to find such particulars of the expedition collected here as

could be procured before the public is obliged with that by authority. The Island of Cape Breton is indented on every side by large bays, upon one of which Louisburg is situated, and the place so extremely well fortified that the attacking of it ought to be considered as one of the hardest attempts that has been made in that part of the world since the commencement of the present war. The whole plan of the expedition was laid, or, at least concerted, in New England, where the whole business was perfectly well understood, and where such persons might be consulted as were to be entrusted with the execution of it.

"As this gave hopes of the design, so the choice made of Commodore Warren was another good omen; for as he has been always an active and vigorous man, so, in the judgment of the seamen, he has been ever a fortunate and prosperous commodore. . . . The attack of the place was carried on with great vigour and success from the beginning, being regularly invested by land and sea. . . . The reduction of Louisburg has not only put the whole Island of Cape Breton into our hands, but also the Island of St. John and other adjacent places of less consequence, where all the stages and other works, belonging to the French fishery, are absolutely destroyed, and these coasts effectually cleared. In consequence of this glorious success, the following advantages will undoubtedly accrue to the subjects of Great Britain:—

"(1) The French will be entirely deprived of a very beneficial fishery, in which a vast number of ships are annually employed, in so much that it was considered the great nursery of their seamen.

"(2) All the northern Colonies will be delivered from the apprehension of French privateers.

"(3) All their commerce to the St. Lawrence, and indeed to all Canada, must be henceforth very precarious; and as there is no fear of seeing the place given up again by another treaty like that of Utrecht,

we may safely congratulate our countrymen upon obtaining this great and solid advantage."

"The Island of Cape Breton," said the *Westminster Journal*, "is at last taken, and we have had our day of rejoicing. A most valuable acquisition, undoubtedly it is. But to whom are we to ascribe the glory of this successful expedition? To what cause this dissimilitude of all our other military operations, that it was conducted with secrecy, prudence, and resolution! That all obstructions were foreseen and obviated, and every precaution taken?"

"Could we answer, 'To the Ministry,' it would almost tempt me to think that the spirit of wisdom was returning to our councils. But the contrary is too evident. New England, I suspect, has so much right to the glory of the plan that, I am afraid, scarce a glimpse of it can ever reach the old. A small body of troops, for the most part Militia, and a very small royal squadron, have effected more in a few months for the public service than had been before done by our numerous fleets, charged with regular troops and marines, in a war of nearly six years' continuance.

"Cape Breton, if some of our writers say true, is alone worth a little kingdom, and may be of four times the value to the English nation as the whole revenue of Hanover amounts to, which indirectly costs us such annual millions. An English Minister, therefore, that should neglect it, or so much as listen to proposals for giving it up at a general peace, would run as much risk from the people as his late Honour did, when he proposed to excise the whole nation, and was obliged to set up his Corps of Black Guards to escort him to and from the Senate.

"If our great men, upon whom it may hereafter fall to negotiate a peace, should suspect their own inflexibility with regard to the keeping of this prize, let them immediately vest the island in property in the people of New England. The same spirit which instigated

them to take will support them to maintain, it being the avowed temper of that Colony to embrace and improve every advantage. I know what may be said on this occasion, as it has been said on others. There is danger in making this Colony too powerful! lest the people should, at some time or other, throw off all dependence on the crown of England, and erect themselves into a republic, according to the principles of the majority among them," etc.

Fortunately for the credit of the Motherland, her appreciation of the valour of the colonies before Louisburg assumed a more practical form than the discharge of pieces of artillery, the ringing of bells, lighting of bonfires, the broaching of beer barrels, and the distribution of honours; and in the voting by the House of Commons of the following sums of money to the Colonies, out of Britain's share of the Louisburg prize money, the nation had the satisfaction of partially reimbursing the Colonies the cost of the siege in a manner highly beneficial to their exchequers:—

	£	s.	d.
To Massachusetts . . .	183,649	2	7
„ New Hampshire . . .	16,355	13	4
„ Connecticut . . .	28,863	19	1
„ Rhode Island . . .	6,332	12	10

After reducing Louisburg, New England, anticipating the Imperial policy of Pitt, offered to seize Quebec and crush the Western power of the Bourbons. But the Imperial Ministry, apprehensive that the triumph of the Colonial arms at Louisburg, and the conquest of Canada by a Colonial force, would greatly extend an independent spirit in British America, rejected this patriotic proposal, and decided to invade Canada with an Imperial armament, supported by the Colonial troops. Meanwhile France, exasperated at the loss of Louisburg, alarmed at the power of New England, and trembling for the safety of all Canada,



assembled nearly half her naval strength at Brest, and mobilised an Indo-Canadian army of 1,600 men in Nova Scotia, at Bay Verte.

Towards the end of June, A.D. 1746, the French Armada was ready for sea; and on the 22nd of the month the following warships broke through the British blockade of Brest and bore up for Nova Scotia under a great press of canvas (accompanied by 32 transports from Rochelle):—

	GUNS	MEN
<i>The Northumberland</i> . . . . .	60	600
<i>Le Trident</i> . . . . .	64	500
<i>L'Ardent</i> . . . . .	64	500
<i>Le Mars</i> . . . . .	64	500
<i>L'Alcide</i> . . . . .	64	500
<i>Le Carillon</i> . . . . .	60	500
<i>Le Diamant</i> . . . . .	50	400
<i>Le Borée</i> . . . . .	50	400
<i>Le Tigre</i> . . . . .	60	550
<i>Le Léopard</i> . . . . .	60	500
<i>La Renommée</i> . . . . .	60	400
<i>La Mégère</i> . . . . .	30	270
<i>L'Argonaute</i> . . . . .	26	270
<i>La Parfaite</i> { Fireships } . . . . .	8	100
<i>La Perle</i> { } . . . . .	8	100
<i>La Palme</i> . . . . .	10	70
<i>Le Petit Mercure</i> . . . . .	10	70
<i>Le Mercure</i> . . . . .	10	70
<i>Le Girous</i> . . . . .	16	140
<i>Le Prince of Orange</i> . . . . .	26	200

Another of 24 guns carrying 150 men, and 20 frigates and privateers. On the transports were the Regiment of Pontheius, the Militia of Samur, and of Fontenay le Comte, and 600 Marines. The land force, numbering 2,550 men, was commanded by Brigadier-General Pommeril, and the fleet by the Duc d'Anville, who carried the French King's commission to retake and dismantle Louisburg, effect a junction with the army



of Bay Verte, and expel the British from Nova Scotia, consign Boston to flames, ravage New England, and waste the British West Indies.

The approach of the French armada filled New England with the same dismay that the approach of the Spanish armada caused Old England, and this domestic peril recalled her forces from the projected invasion of Canada.

Six thousand four hundred men, some of whom travelled 70 miles in two days, mobilised on Boston Common. Six thousand flew to arms in Connecticut. The "Colonial" shipping was improvised as far as possible into a navy, the coast forts were strengthened or repaired, watchmen were posted on the lofty headlands, and prayers for Divine succour ascended from every church in the land. The supplication of the Reverend Thomas Prince, preacher of the thanksgiving sermon on the fall of Louisburg, the previous year, in Old South Church, Boston, was not the least earnest of these appeals to Heaven by the alarmed pioneers of the United States. The actual words of this prayer, offered up while a severe storm (perhaps the storm that actually scattered the French armada) raged over the city, appear to have been:—

"O Lord! we would not advise;  
But if, in Thy providence,  
A tempest should arise  
To drive the French fleet hence,  
And scatter it far and wide,  
Or sink it in the sea,  
We would be satisfied;  
And thine the glory be."

The French made but slow progress across the Atlantic owing to continuous head winds; but on September 2nd their formidable van bore up into the longitude of Sable Island, about 100 miles from Nova

Scotia. There, however, as on the approach of the Spanish armada to the coasts of Britain 158 years earlier, "*Afflavit Deus et dissipantur*," *i.e.* "God blew, and they were scattered!" Some of the ships drove broadside upon Sable Island Sands—dangerous shoals resembling Britain's fatal Goodwins—more were driven seaward, others bore up for the French West Indies; and only about thirty-eight ships entered Chebucto, that is, Halifax Harbour, where a scorbutic fever which had destroyed 1,200 men on the voyage destroyed 1,000 more in rude barracks hastily erected on the shores of Bedford Basin.

Nothing, says Garneau, could be more mournful than the situation of the invaders. The Admiral died of apoplexy, brought on by mental distress. His successor, the Vice-Admiral d'Estournelle, committed suicide after a quarrel with his Council, and sombre despair settled upon the plague-stricken survivors.

The Acadians of Mines, Piziquid, Cobequid, and Chignecto at length stamped out the terrible disorder that was destroying the enfeebled invaders; and La Jonquière, the Viceroy of Canada, upon whom the command of the expedition devolved, decided to abandon the attempt on Louisburg, then defended by nine warships, 2,000 regulars, and a corps of Colonial troops, and attack the Capital of Nova Scotia. The French forces mobilised at Bay Verte were directed to march on Annapolis; the ships that had lost their crews and several prizes captured on the coast were scuttled or burnt; and on October 13th the partially rehabilitated armada, consisting of 25 (Hannay says 42) ships and 1,000 efficient soldiers, sailed to join it before the celebrated Acadian stronghold.

Next day several small vessels left the squadron for France, and the fleet proceeded towards the Bay of Fundy; but it was pursued by its Nemesis of storm and tempest, and, after another struggle with the elements off Cape Sable, the crippled expedition melted

## 26 THE LAST SIEGE OF LOUISBURG.

away, although two ships penetrated to Annapolis Basin.

The people of New England, overjoyed at the passing of this great peril, piously attributed the dispersion of the Brest fleet to the interference of the kindly providence who had so seasonably delivered Louisburg into their hands; and in the churches and around the firesides of the preserved realm "venerable ministers and pious maidens read with exultant voices Deborah and Barak's Song of Triumph: 'They fought from Heaven; the stars in the courses fought against Sisera. The River of Kishon swept them away, that ancient river, the River Kishon. O my Soul, thou hast trodden down strength.'"

But the menaces of the Court of Versailles were not entirely silenced. Although the French armada had merely succeeded in alarming Louisburg, Annapolis, and New England, and in strewing the shores and isles of Chebucto (Halifax) harbour with its tombs, the shifting sands of Sable Island with its hulls, and the Cape Sable coast with its material, the army of Bay Verte, though weakened by the withdrawal of troops to the Canadian frontier, still threatened Nova Scotia. M de Ramezay had conducted the reduced force to the neighbourhood of Annapolis to co-operate with the French fleet; but, when the only two ships which succeeded in reaching Annapolis Basin precipitately retired before the *Chester*, *Massachusetts*, and *Ordnance*, he retreated through Mines to Chignecto (Beaubassin). Alarmed at the presence of this hostile force upon his frontiers, the Governor of Nova Scotia appealed to New England for 1,000 men; and in December 500, commanded by Colonel Noble, landed on the south shore of the Bay of Fundy, and marched into the French Nova Scotian village of Grand Pré. The lateness of the season and the severity of the weather, however, prevented military operations, and, under the impression that the deep Acadian snows formed impregnable

entrenchments, Colonel Noble relaxed the discipline of his troops.

The French commander, however, determined to attack the British. A detachment of Indo-Canadian troops, commanded by the officer who later compelled Washington to capitulate at Fort Necessity, issued from Chignecto, crossed the rivers and dreary intervening wastes of snow; and, strengthened by some Acadians from Piziquid, invested the homesteads occupied by the New England garrison. Though warned of the approach of the French by the Acadians, the Massachusetts commander, considering an attack upon Grand Pré in such weather impracticable, had made no preparations to receive them; and he appears to have ignored the significant retirement of the Acadians from the houses in which his troops were quartered.

The French invested the village through the night during a snow storm which had raged for many hours, and the British sentinels, who could see nothing through the storm, were bayoneted at their posts. The New Englanders leaped from their beds as their expiring guards raised a loud alarm, and a hand-to-hand combat, in which Colonel Noble fell fighting in his shirt, filled Grand-Pré with the furious clamour of war. The most desperate efforts of the garrison failed to extricate it from this perilous situation; and, unable either to repulse the French or retreat, it at length surrendered.

Seventy-five British officers, non-commissioned officers, and men were killed; 60 men were wounded, and 60 made prisoners during this dramatic combat on the blood-stained snow at Grand Pré; the remainder retreated with the consent of the French to Annapolis, carrying dismay into the capital of Nova Scotia; and New England, amazed at the humiliation of her standards, acknowledged that in De Ramezay and De Villiers France had commanders capable of employing even the elements to attract victory to her banners.

While these events transpired in Nova Scotia a

French fleet had seized Madras, the principal trading station of the British India Company; and, foreseeing that the court influence of the Company might be strong enough to sacrifice British America to private interests, France determined to hold Madras as the ransom of Cape Breton. The Court of Versailles, however, fully realising the advantage of possessing both these strategic points if possible (1746-1747), determined to project another fleet against Louisburg, strengthen the victorious army of Bay Verte, summon the Acadians (who had witnessed a triumph of French arms in their midst) to the standard of France, and expel the British from Nova Scotia. These bold designs were justified by the mobilisation of the armies of New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, upon the frontiers of Canada; and, in April, 1747, M. de Jonquière, who had conducted back to France the shattered armada of 1746, left Rochelle with 14 ships and 22 transports, six East Indiamen accompanied by two warships sailing under his temporary protection. But the hand of destiny lay heavily upon the westward bound fleets of France. The combined squadrons were intercepted by a pursuing British fleet of 16 ships off Cape Finisterre; and after an exceedingly well fought action the French were totally defeated with the loss of 9 warships, all the East Indiamen, several store ships and transports, and 4,000 men; M. de Jonquière himself exclaiming as he presented his sword to Anson and pointed to the captured French ships bearing those names: "Sir, you have conquered the *Invincible*, and *Glory* follows you!"

The dispersion of the first French armada by the elements, and the annihilation of the second off Cape Finisterre, sealed the fate of Louisburg and exposed Canada to the Brito-Colonial armies. The Imperial Ministers did not, however, press this unparalleled opportunity to conquer Canada. The formidable forces of New England, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania,



Maryland, and Virginia, were disbanded by their orders amid scenes of discontent ; and with the key of Canada presented to her by New England, the French navy crippled, and a Colonial army impatient to cross the frontier, Britain abandoned the invasion of Canada, and feebly attempted to propitiate the indignant Colonies by voting £135,000 to defray the expense of mobilising their troops!

But this was not all. Peace was announced—the peace of Aix la Chapelle ; and, under the shadow of the tomb of Charlemagne, Cape Breton, its costly forts, unique coalfields, inexhaustible fisheries, and immense strategic advantages, were exchanged for an East India trading station, which had been lost through the rejection of the French India Company's peaceful overtures!

This impolitic act was one of Britain's most serious mistakes in America ; for the restoration of Cape Breton to France re-armed Louisburg against the British "Colonies," insulted the Colonial arms, and humiliated Colonial statescraft. Such indifference to the domestic security of British America, further illustrated by the abandonment of the invasion of Canada, indubitably impressed upon the Colonists the disadvantages and even the perils of the Imperial connection ; and from the recession of Louisburg to the French Crown may be dated the approach of the American Revolution.

### CHAPTER III.

THE political influence of Louisburg was revived at the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, and, as New England foresaw, the capital of Cape Breton again became the centre of French intrigue against Nova Scotia. Seventeen days after the French re-occupied the city the Abbé le Loutre, who had conducted an armed force against the old capital of Nova Scotia (A.D. 1744), notified the Governor-General of Canada of the foundation of the new capital, declared that the Louisburg Executive had promised to assist him to preserve the hereditary attachment of the Micmacs to the House of Bourbon, and announced his departure from Cape Breton to instigate them to prevent the building of Halifax.

The Micmacs responded to his ecclesiastical call to arms, and began hostilities by a successful attack upon Canso and the British shipping at Chignecto; and the clansmen of Shubenacadie, a strategic point overlooking Halifax, marched against the new capital. Forewarned, Cornwallis defended his city by palisades, appealed to Louisburg to recall Le Loutre, and swept his environs with two companies of Rangers, Goreham's Indian Rangers, and a company of Phillip's Regiment. Falling back before these energetic measures, the Micmacs, supported by some Piziquid Acadians, attacked Fort Mines and captured 19 men.

The Abbé le Loutre also coerced the Acadians of Chignecto into an oath of allegiance to France; and from the door of Cobequid Church he threatened death



to any French Nova Scotian who passed the Shubenacadie to assist the British to build Halifax.

The seizure and fortification of the Isthmus of Chignecto by the Viceroy of Canada increased the arrogance of the Abbé, and stimulated him to greater exertions to expel the British from Nova Scotia. Major Lawrence, subsequently Governor of Nova Scotia, immediately occupied the Isthmus with 400 men; and on the eastern side of the Missiquash, at the Acadian town of Beaubassin, he received the haughty ultimatum of the French that the Missiquash was the political frontier of Nova Scotia. The Abbé le Loutre immediately deported the French Nova Scotian population of Beaubassin to the French bank of the river; and 1,000 people, submitting to this imperious dictum of their Church, mournfully crossed the Missiquash with their movable effects. Beaubassin was then destroyed by the Abbé; one hundred and forty houses and two churches were ruthlessly consigned to the flames, and the red glare of the burning Acadian homesteads illuminated the Isthmus and adjacent waters. Horrified at this reckless sacrifice of a prosperous Nova Scotian town to the anti-British zeal of a French priest, Major Lawrence withdrew to Mines to await orders from the Halifax Executive, whose consternation was increased by the determination of the French Nova Scotians of River Canard, Grand Pré, Annapolis, and Piziquid, to abandon the cultivation of their farms, and leave Nova Scotia in obedience to the fiat of Le Loutre. The Abbé's policy of depopulating the French Nova Scotian towns, and assembling their ruined inhabitants on the frontier of Nova Scotia to harass the British, was very patent. Cornwallis scathingly denounced the seditious conduct of the Abbé and his emissaries to the Acadian Deputies when they waited upon him for permission to leave Nova Scotia, and acknowledged that the French Nova Scotians, as a people, some "ill-disposed, interested, and mischievous persons" excepted, were

creditable British citizens. But he refused to allow them to cross the Missiquash to take up compulsory arms against Britain at the dictum of Le Loutre; and Lawrence was despatched with the 48th and part of the 45th Regiment to counter-fortify the Isthmus. The Abbé haughtily opposed Lawrence with an Indo-Acadian force led by two of his priests, and hastily consigned to rekindled flames the few houses spared at the spectacular burning of Beaubassin. The British, however, succeeded in erecting Fort Lawrence, and the diplomatic struggle for control of the Isthmus of Chignecto and its overland route between Quebec and Louisburg, which culminated in an appeal to arms five years later, immediately began.

Meanwhile the Abbé le Loutre inflamed the Indian war and intimidated the French Nova Scotians, supported, on at least one recorded occasion by funds from Louisburg. The military communications between Halifax and the Forts distributed through Nova Scotia were repeatedly cut; Dartmouth was attacked with serious consequences, the noise of the assault and the red glare of the burning houses throwing the capital itself into consternation; and the British isolated throughout the Province were ruthlessly massacred, harassed, or carried into captivity, from which the Halifax executive was obliged to ransom them on the onerous terms of the Abbé le Loutre.

These disorders increased at Count Raymond's accession to the Governorship of Louisburg. The Micmac clansmen were assembled at the Cape Breton capital and inflamed against the British; and the Count endeavoured to seduce the citizens of Halifax to Louisburg by tempting offers of land, horses, oxen, and provisions.

Encouraged by the powerful support of Louisburg, the Abbé le Loutre abused his ecclesiastical authority in Acadia to keep the Micmacs in the field against Britain; and he inveighed bitterly against the Governor

of Nova Scotia at Louisburg in A.D. 1753 for negotiating a peace with the Shubenacadie clansmen.

This Anglo-Micmac war proved disastrous to the British. During the short term of Cornwallis (A.D. 1749—1752) 500 British Nova Scotians were destroyed; and his successor, the Hon. Peregrine Hopson, ex-Governor of Louisburg, retired in November, 1753, complaining that he could hardly protect the British from the insults of an Indian war.

The complicity of Louisburg in this bloody internecine war was revealed shortly afterwards (June, A.D. 1755) by the arrival at Halifax of a French ship, captured by Admiral Boscawen, while bound into Louisburg with 10,000 weapons, admittedly for the Indians on the British line of communication between Halifax and the French Nova Scotian villages, etc., and an Acadian irreconcilable who had led the Micmac assault upon Dartmouth.

The Indian clansmen at Cape Sable had, however, just claims to be acquitted of any complicity in this horrible war against the British; and their loyalty was rewarded by the Halifax executive during A.D. 1753 with subsidies and diplomatic presents of gold and silver laced hats to their leaders.

Lawrence, who assumed the direction of Nova Scotian affairs in A.D. 1753, although not raised to the governorship until 1755, was confronted by an insurrection among the discontented Germans of Lunenburg, instigated by the authors of the Indian war. He only succeeded in laying the foundation of Lawrencetown, not more than 12 miles from the capital, amid bloody Micmac attacks, and, beset by Indian hostility, fearful that the Acadians dragooned across the Missisquoi by the Abbé would seduce those in Nova Scotia, alarmed at the emigration of British Nova Scotians to the securer New England towns, dismayed by the disposition of the German Nova Scotians to pass under the influence of the clerical *protégés* of Louisburg,

and embarrassed by the expansion of French power upon the Isthmus of Chignecto, he appealed to New England for troops to seize the Isthmusian Fort Beauséjour.

The Macdonian cry of Nova Scotia was loyally responded to by New England. On May 23rd, A.D. 1755, 2,000 men left Boston for Annapolis to join 300 imperial troops and a train of artillery destined for the Isthmus; and on June 3rd the united force reached Fort Lawrence. Their appearance upon the Isthmus was, in effect, a declaration of war against France by the feeble realm of Nova Scotia; and the Commandant of Beauséjour summoned the French Nova Scotians who had crossed the Missiquash at the dictum of Le Loutre to the standard of France, appealed to Louisburg for 1,200 imperial troops, and increased the strength of the fort. The British attacked Pont à Buot, a French post on the Missiquash eastward of Beauséjour; and, after one hour's fighting, the French evacuated the place, destroying the blockhouse, 60 houses, and a church as they retreated. The British then bridged the river and crossed the arbitrary frontier established by the Viceroy of Canada. Their guns followed; and, transported with difficulty through the forest, were planted upon elevated land commanding Beauséjour. Siege trenches were opened within 700 feet of the walls; the first gun was discharged at the northern bastion, and for four successive days Beauséjour lay exposed to a deadly shower of British projectiles. At the height of the siege couriers arrived from Louisburg with the alarming intelligence that the Cape Breton capital being itself threatened by the British, no troops could be spared for the relief of Beauséjour; and when the evil news reached the Acadians in the garrison they incontinently deserted the fort or solicited permission to retire.

On the fourth day of the siege the British bombardment proved so disastrous that the garrison pronounced

the fort untenable. This was also the opinion of the Commandant; but he deferred the inevitable surrender in deference to the remonstrances of the Vicar-General of Acadia (Abbé le Loutre), who, proscribed and pursued by the British, had been at last shut up by them in the fort. Even the Abbé could not, however, long defer the capitulation of Beauséjour; and on the 16th of June the French key of the Isthmus of Chignecto was reluctantly surrendered to the British by M. Duchambon de Vergor, son of he who had surrendered Louisburg to the British in A.D. 1745, and fatefully destined to accelerate the fall of Quebec in A.D. 1759 by neglecting to defend the top of the path from the shore to the Plains of Abraham. Meanwhile the Vicar-General of Acadia was fleeing through the wilderness to Quebec, oppressed by the weight of a lost cause, disguised in the coarse habiliments of a serving woman, to endure the contempt of the French Governor-General, the rebukes of a Bishop incensed at his unclerical conduct, and the perils of a voyage to France, only to fall at last into the hands of his pursuers on the high seas and suffer a lingering captivity on the Isle of Jersey, while the star of France sank beneath the occidental horizon.

The fall of Beauséjour, followed logically by that of Fort Gaspereau and the evacuation of the French Fort on the St. John River, demoralised French policy in the Bay of Fundy, also in the region now called New Brunswick, and completely overthrew the dreaded clerico-political influence of the Abbé le Loutre.

The tranquillity of Nova Scotia was practically assured by these military successes; and the Acadians, forced across the Missiquash by the ecclesiastical terrorism of the French abbé from whom Britain had not protected them, might have been allowed to return to their ancestral lands in Nova Scotia—a step which many of them had petitioned Quebec for permission to take. There, apart from the hereditary unwillingness



to provoke the hostility of their conquerors peculiar to them as a people, the memory of their miseries in the (New Brunswick) wilds or upon the pauperising relief works (dyke building) established by French alms, in subjection to the harsh Abbé, would have kept them ultra-loyal to that mild rule of Britain which the Acadians of Mines had extolled to the leader of the French invasion of A.D. 1744. But the Halifax executive did not permit the broken exiles to return to the homeland from which it had allowed Le Loutre to drive them with terrifying ecclesiastical threats and a Micmac army. The Governor himself, who, as Major Lawrence, had seen Le Loutre burn one of their most prosperous towns, seemed incapable of this generous policy. They were proscribed as disloyal, dangerous, and irreconcilable to British rule; and, to the discredit of the rulers of Nova Scotia, the whole Acadian population of the Province was indiscriminately included in the dreadful proscriptions.

This step was taken in spite of the fact that the loyalty of the Acadians, as a people, under the most trying conditions to which a conquered race could be exposed was historic. Seven years after the conquest the Annapolis Acadians had offered to subscribe to an oath that they would not take up arms against Britain, her subjects, or allies. Twelve years later the Annapolis Acadians had heartily welcomed Governor Phillips to Nova Scotia, and all the men from 16 years of age upwards at Annapolis, Chignecto, Mines, and the other French Nova Scotian villages, had taken an oath of allegiance. Their relations with the Government of Nova Scotia during the succeeding nine years had been admittedly harmonious in spite of the irritable temperament of the Governor. They refused to assist France to recover Nova Scotia in 1744, the supplies which Du Vivier obtained at Mines being extorted by threats of extermination by the Micmacs from whom Britain could not protect them; and they forced the French to



evacuate Nova Scotia, by refusing them winter quarters. The declaration of the Nova Scotian Governor that the British largely owed their safety on that occasion to the loyalty of the Acadians was indeed a matter of State record. As a people they had similarly discouraged the invasion of Nova Scotia by 300 Canadian Militia from Louisburg and 300 Indian clansmen mobilised by Le Loutre, under Marin, the following year; and, after a feeble siege of Annapolis, Martin was consequently obliged to retreat to Louisburg.

Their failure to supply the Louisburg market with food after the first fall of the city was obviously due to the terrorism exercised over them by Le Loutre, his coadjutors, and their Micmac army—the Louisburg market being notoriously one of the most profitable to which the Acadians had access. Their succour of the plague stricken French armada with wholesome food in Bedford Basin (A.D. 1746) was a humane act for which they could not be condemned, especially as they refused to rally to the standard of France on that critical occasion, and warned the garrison of Grand Pré of the impending attack by a detachment of the army of Bay Verte.

The subsequent complicity of eleven Piziquid Acadians in an Indian attack upon Fort Mines no more compromised the Acadians, as a people, than the extreme views of a few private persons compromise the policy of modern political parties. The conduct of these eleven rebels was no doubt due to the usual terrifying threats of Le Loutre to refuse the Sacraments to, and turn his Micmac army against, those who disobeyed his commands; and it was, or ought to have been, officially known that the Acadians of Chignecto, who took an oath of allegiance to France in 1749, as well as those who emigrated beyond the Missiquash, 1750 to 1755, were terrorised into those steps by these dreadful threats.

Forty years after the conquest of Nova Scotia

(1750) Cornwallis had paid a tribute to the loyalty of the Acadians. Scrupulously discriminating between the loyal Acadians and some malcontents in their midst, he acknowledged the industry, temperance, and morality of his French Nova Scotian fellow citizens, and sympathised with them, as a people peculiarly exposed to the horrible threats of unscrupulous French plotters whom Britain failed to keep out of the Province. To these arch disturbers of the tranquillity of Nova Scotia, the disorders, up to the fall of Beau-séjour, could be traced; and the Halifax authorities perfectly understood that these disorders were due, not to the disloyal ideals of the, as a body, peaceful Acadians, but to the machinations of an arrogant priest, supported by Louisburg and a Micmac army, whom they weakly permitted to infest the Province.

These considerations did not, however, weigh with Lawrence, notoriously a man of masterful manners, who seems to have been incapable of judiciously reviewing either the political record or the peculiar position of the Acadians; and, assembling around him at Halifax a council, composed of a Vice- and Rear-Admiral of the Blue (Boscawen and Mostyn), whose knowledge of naval tactics did not entitle them to meddle in political affairs, and some gentlemen, even now unknown to fame as competent arbiters of the destiny of a conquered people, he pronounced a sentence of expulsion upon the alien race which had thrice preserved Nova Scotia for Britain—because they refused to subscribe to an oath of allegiance, obliging them to take up arms against their Motherland and Indian clansmen, from whom Britain could not protect even her natural subjects. The edict was instantly put into effect, and thousands of Acadian men, women, and children were expelled from their ancestral homes into inhospitable British Colonies to the south, under circumstances which have since been immortalised by an illustrious poet; but with a strange inconsistency

the Indian banditti, which had flaunted every symbol of British rule, mercilessly slaughtered fully 500 British Nova Scotians and carried others captive, burned Beaubassin, and terrorised the Acadian race, was left in Nova Scotia!

Such was the expulsion of the Acadians—victims of the Imperial policy of Louisburg, and of the feeble Colonial policy of Britain, and this painful incident forms an imperishable monument to the incompetence of the imperial *régime* which re-armed Louisburg against its own Colonies, at the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle.

## CHAPTER IV.

TO check the power of France, safeguard her commerce, and palliate her conduct in re-exposing British America to the peril of Louisburg, Britain founded a naval and military base in the spacious harbour which sheltered the shattered French armada of A.D. 1746. But the armaments of Halifax were not upon the imposing scale of Louisburg; and, if a petition addressed to the Council of Nova Scotia by the merchants and freeholders of the new capital, expressing alarm at its critical situation, and praying for stronger fortifications, especially a proper citadel, as a last retreat in times of extremity, is accepted as reliable evidence, the moneys voted by the Imperial Government for the fortifications of the place were "injudiciously" applied and "miserably mismanaged."

From other points of view the Nova Scotian was inferior to the Cape Breton metropolis; and its growth was so retarded by the superior attractions of its northern rival that Cornwallis complained that there was often a scarcity of provisions in the city, because the New England and New York merchants preferred to trade at Louisburg.

Louisburg was thus an important commercial centre as well as the greatest military stronghold on the northern coasts, and "ships of all nations" rode at anchor in her ample port. In 1751 150 English vessels traded there, and the commerce of the city was increasing so rapidly that 30 Boston ships could sometimes be counted in the port.

An English traveller who visited the city found 30 sail of English ships loading and discharging there; 20 large vessels from France lay at the quays, discharging wines, oils, cambrics, linens, silks, velvets, and, "in short, an assortment of all the manufactures of France"; and others arrived almost daily from the West Indies laden with rum, sugar, molasses, coffee, cotton, indigo and cocoa. These commodities were purchased on a large scale by the New England and other "Colonial" merchants for the British "Colonial" markets as far south as South Carolina. Most of them were paid for in good silver dollars; and as the trifling commodities the British traders could sell were chiefly lumber, the balance of trade was greatly in favour of France.

Louisburg was also the emporium of a fishing industry, which competed with the fishing industry of New England, employed fully 2,281 vessels, manned by 15,138 men, and is stated to have supported an export of 974,700 quintals of fish per annum. The following table indicates its relation to the metropolitan fishing station:—

French Fishing Villages Tributary to Louisburg.	Number of Boats.	
	Decked Vessels.	Shallops.
Egmont Bay (near Cape North) . . . . .	—	30
Niganish Bay and Cove . . . . .	—	245
Niganish Island . . . . .	—	30
Port Dauphin or St. Anne's . . . . .	100	—
Entrance of Great Bras d'Or Lakes . . . . .	20	40
Petit Bras d'Or . . . . .	—	60
Spanish River or Sydney . . . . .	6	—
Indian Bay or Lingan . . . . .	—	50
Scatterie Island . . . . .	—	200
Main à Dieu . . . . .	—	190
Lorambec . . . . .	—	80
Gabarous Bay . . . . .	—	50
Fourché . . . . .	—	50
St. Esprit Island . . . . .	—	60
Grand Rivière . . . . .	—	60

# 42 THE LAST SIEGE OF LOUISBURG.

French Fishing Villages Tributary to Louisburg.	Number of Boats.	
	Decked Vessels.	Shallops.
Brought forward		
L'Ardois . . . . .	—	14
St. Peter's . . . . .	100	—
Petit de Grat (Ile Madame) . . . . .	—	100
River and Bay of Inhabitants . . . . .	100	—
Places in Straits of Canso . . . . .	100	—
	420	1,255
The Fishing Craft hailing from Louis- burg itself were . . . . .	300	300
Total . . . . .	720	1,555

Louisburg was likewise the *entrepôt* of an active contraband trade, carried on with the French Nova Scotian villages, *via* Cornwallis, now McNab's, Island, in Halifax Harbour, by Joshua Mauger, the father of the Halifax lady who, as Duchesse de Bouillon, perished upon the guillotine early in the French Revolution. Mr. Mauger smuggled from France to Louisburg, thence to "Mauger's Beach" and McNab's Island (which he made vast repositories of French goods); and distributed the contraband merchandise among the French Nova Scotians *via* the military road, between the capital and the Acadian villages, through his truck houses at Piziquid, Mines, Grand Pré, and Annapolis. He was believed to be one of the great intermediaries between France and the Indians in Nova Scotia, and the medium through which French manufactured tomahawks and scalping knives reached the Micmacs for use against the British.

Cornwallis denounced him to the Imperial Government as an audacious smuggler, if nothing worse, and unavailingly urged that so dubious a person should not be permitted to act as Agent-Victualler for Nova Scotia. Mr. Mauger at length retired with his accumulated gains to London, whence he had come, and



for many years acted as Agent-General for Nova Scotia in the British Metropolis. He died in 1770, leaving a fortune of £300,000 sterling, which was squandered by his aristocratic son-in-law, the Duc de Bouillon, until his reckless career closed upon the guillotine with his unhappy wife; and it may thus be said that the profits of Louisburg's illicit commerce contributed to the provocation of the French Revolution.

. . . . .

In May-June, 1756, the Franco-British war was rekindled from its ashes, and Louisburg became a pressing danger to British America, especially as the Court of Versailles published the following edict to encourage privateers to prey upon the maritime trade of British-America:—

“The tenth due to the Admiralty is remitted.

“Besides the produce of the prizes, which shall wholly appertain to the captors, the following bounties shall be paid them out of the Royal Treasury, namely: 100 livres per gun, from 4 to 12 pounders, taken from merchantmen; 150 livres per gun of the same bore, taken from privateers; 200 livres per gun of the same bore, taken from men-of-war; 150 livres per gun, 12 pounders and upwards, taken from merchantmen; 225 livres per gun of the said bore, taken from privateers; 300 livres per gun of the said bore, taken from men-of-war; 30 livres per head for every prisoner taken out of a merchantman; 40 livres per head for every prisoner taken out of a privateer; 50 livres per head for every prisoner taken out of a man-of-war.

“The same bounties to be paid for every man on board at the commencement of any engagement. The said bounties to be augmented by one-fourth for all such privateers or men-of-war which shall be taken by boarding.

“The said bounties shall wholly appertain to the captain, officers and crew, to be divided amongst

themselves according to the share they are to have in the produce of the prize, and pursuant to the agreement at the time of entering on board; the money to be paid to the captain or his representative.

"The King promises other rewards to such captains or officers that shall behave well, even to their receiving commissions in his Marine, according to the circumstance and strength of the ships they shall have engaged.

"Ships of 24 guns or upwards that shall have been built for privateering shall be taken by the Government at the prime cost if they be not employed that way, or at the estimated price if they have been so employed, when they shall be no longer authorised to cruise on the enemies. In order to indemnify the owners of those ships, which shall take any privateers or men-of-war, of the damage they shall sustain by such engagements, the following premiums are to be paid to them:—

"100 livres per gun, from 4 to 12 pounders.

"200 livres per gun, from 12 pounders upwards.

"20 livres per head for every effective man on board at the beginning of an engagement.

"Privateers shall be exempt from all taxes or duties whatsoever on provisions, artillery, ammunition, and all other necessities for their construction, victualling, and armament.

"The officers and sailors on board privateers, that shall be wounded and disabled, shall receive the sea half-pay, and pensions shall be allowed to the widows of those that shall be killed."

The Louisburg privateers put to sea; and in July an indecisive battle was fought off the port between the ships sent out of Halifax to destroy them and M. Beausier's squadron. While returning from Quebec to Louisburg, on July 26th, M. Beausier sighted the British three leagues southward of Louisburg, and bore down on them before a northerly gale. But

they tacked in order to stand off and, fearing to fall to leeward of Louisburg, into which he was carrying provisions, Beausier went into the harbour to land them, and started in quest of the English at 5 o'clock next morning, with the *Héros*, 74; *Illustre*, 64; the frigate *Syrene*, 36; and a 36-gun frigate. Sighting the *Grafton* and *Nottingham*, 70 guns, and a Jamaica sloop, about noon, he crowded all sail to come up with them, and the *Syrene* briskly attacked the sloop; but the *Grafton* and *Nottingham* beat her off. M. Beausier bore up to her support under press of canvas, and opened fire upon the *Grafton*, leaving the *Nottingham*, which lay upon his quarter, to the *Illustre*; but a calm coming on at the moment, the *Illustre* could not support him, and the *Héros* lay exposed to the guns of the *Grafton* and *Nottingham* until the *Illustre* came to her assistance at 7 o'clock in the evening, before a rising gale. The dusk falling upon the sea terminated the combat, and the French bore off the *Héros* to Louisburg, where she arrived next morning, with two hundred shot in her hull and masts, others between wind and water, 18 of her crew killed and 48 wounded, the tattered flag of France still flying triumphantly at her mast head.

Shortly after this affair Lord Loudoun proposed the reduction of Louisburg, and the Imperial Ministry consented to this prudent measure. The Governors of North Carolina, Virginia, Maryland, and Pennsylvania were immediately assembled at Philadelphia by his Lordship, and entrusted with the common defence of the frontiers during the absence of the Imperial forces in Cape Breton; a general embargo laid upon outward bound tonnage and a hot press at New York, on May 20th, supplied transports for the army and seamen for the fleet; the 22nd, 42nd, 44th, and 48th Regiments; 2 Battalions of the 60th, 500 Rangers, and 100 Boston Carpenters, totalling 5,300 men, were embarked; and on May 25th, 1757, ninety transports

# 46 THE LAST SIEGE OF LOUISBURG.

convoys by the only available squadron, consisting of the

	GUNS
<i>Sutherland</i> . . . . .	50
<i>Nightingale</i> . . . . .	20
<i>Kennington</i> . . . . .	20
<i>Vulture</i> . . . . .	16
<i>Ferret</i> . . . . .	14

under Rear-Admiral Sir Charles Hardy, fell down to Sandy Hook.

There Lord Loudoun learned from the prisoners taken in a French prize that 5 French sail of the line were *en route* from the West Indies to Louisburg. An express from Boston confirmed this, and stated that these ships had been seen off Halifax; but two sloops of war, despatched to reconnoitre the coast, encountered no French ships, and on June 5th the expedition proceeded to Halifax to join the 2nd Battalion of the 1st, the 28th, 55th, 17th, 46th, 43rd, 27th, detachments of the 40th, 45th, and 47th Regiments, a company of artillery, and an imperial fleet *en route* from Cork, under Admiral Holburne.

The day the British left the Hook, M. de Beaufremont reached Louisburg with the ships which had been sighted off Halifax. M. du Revest had entered the port the preceding day with 4 ships of the line from Toulon; and 24 days later, M. Bois de la Mothe arrived with 9 ships of the line, 4 frigates, troops and stores from Brest.

These accessions brought the military strength of Louisburg up to 7,000 regular troops, supported by 18 ships of the line and 5 frigates, viz:—

	GUNS		GUNS
<i>Le Duc de Bourgogne</i>	84	<i>Le Défenseur</i> . . .	74
<i>Le Tonnant</i> . . .	80	<i>Le Diadème</i> . . .	74
<i>Le Formidable</i> . . .	80	<i>Le Superbe</i> . . .	74
<i>L'Hector</i> . . . .	74	<i>Le Glorieux</i> . . .	74

# THE LAST SIEGE OF LOUISBURG. 47

	GUNS		GUNS
<i>L'Héros</i> . . .	74	<i>Le Célèbre</i> . . .	64
<i>Le Dauphin Royal</i> .	70	<i>Le Bizarre</i> . . .	64
<i>L'Achille</i> . . .	64	<i>La Brune</i> . . .	36
<i>Le Vaillante</i> . . .	64	<i>Le Bien Acquis</i> . .	38
<i>Le Sage</i> . . .	64	<i>La Comète</i> . . .	30
<i>L'Inflexible</i> . . .	64	<i>La Hermoine</i> . . .	26
<i>L'Eveillé</i> . . .	64	<i>Le Fleur de Lys</i> . .	36
<i>Le Belliqueux</i> . . .	64	<i>La Fochine, flute</i> .	36

Ten days later (July 9th), Admiral Holburne, seriously delayed by adverse winds, bore into Halifax, and despatched several ships to reconnoitre Louisburg, while he organised his fleet for the siege.

Lord Loudoun utilised these delays by instructing the army, which now consisted of about 11,000 men. A facine fort was erected on the north side of the citadel, and the proposed siege of Louisburg was rehearsed "with great firing, in the presence of a multitude of spectators." His Lordship also laid out a large vegetable garden for the benefit of the sick or wounded likely to be sent to the base during the siege, and by this prudent measure preserved the health of his troops, while many of the French perished at Louisburg for lack of similar foresight.

On July 31st, three weeks after Holburne's arrival—a reasonable day for the organisation of a naval expedition against Louisburg which Boscawen claimed the following year—the army prepared to embark, and Major-General Lord Charles Hay was placed under arrest for insinuating that Lord Loudoun was expending the nation's wealth in sham fights and planting cabbages. By August 2nd the troops were on board, the masters of the transports received their instructions, and a grand rendezvous was appointed in Gabarous Bay; but on August 4th an express arrived from the Governor of Newfoundland divulging the naval and military force assembled at Louisburg, and this proved to be so unexpectedly imposing that the

departure was deferred. A council of war was immediately held, and it was finally very properly resolved: "That, considering the great strength of the enemy, and the advanced season of the year, it was expedient to postpone the attack upon Louisburg." The regiments allotted to the Halifax garrison debarked, and others, assigned to the Bay of Fundy, proceeded under convoy to Annapolis and Beauséjour. The remainder were conducted by Lord Loudoun to New York; and Admiral Holburne, mindful, perhaps, of the fate of Byng, sailed for Louisburg in the following line of battle:—

The *Kingston* to lead with the starboard, and the *Defiance* with the larboard, tacks on board. Frigates to repeat signals.

	SHIPS	GUNS	DIVISION
	<i>Kingston</i> .	60	
	<i>Captain</i> .	64	Sir Charles Hardy, Rear-Admiral of the White.
<i>Hunter</i>	<i>Invincible</i> .	74	
	<i>Nassau</i> .	64	
	<i>Sutherland</i> .	50	
	<i>Tilbury</i> .	60	
	<i>Northumberland</i>	70	Francis Holburne, Vice-Admiral of the Blue, Commander-in-Chief.
<i>Port</i>	<i>Newark</i> .	80	
<i>Mahon</i>	<i>Orford</i> .	66	
	<i>Sunderland</i> .	60	
	<i>Centurion</i> .	50	
	<i>Nottingham</i>	60	
	<i>Bedford</i> .	64	Charles Holmes, Commodore.
<i>Ferret</i>	<i>Grafton</i> .	70	
	<i>Terrible</i> .	74	
	<i>Defiance</i> .	60	

and challenged the French to come out by firing a gun and hoisting the standard of England between the ensign staff and the mizzen shrouds. An English-



man imprisoned in the city, who watched this powerful British fleet in battle array off the harbour, says that M. du Bois de la Mothe, the commander of the French fleet, returned the challenge by hoisting the "bloody flag" of France at the main top gallant mast-head and firing one gun, but never stirred an anchor.

The British stood off and on for two days; but as the French did not come out, Holburne returned to Halifax. There he was reinforced by 4 ships, and on September 19th he re-appeared so close into Louisburg that the batteries opened fire. The fleet remained off the port challenging the French to come out—a glorious spectacle, it is said, of Britain's naval power—until it was almost destroyed by an autumnal gale, which drove the ships towards the inhospitable coast. The *Tilbury*, becoming unmanageable, struck heavily upon the St. Esprit reefs, and foundered with her captain and half the crew, and the remaining ships tossed for hours upon the mountainous seas "like straws on a mill stream," watched from the shore by crowds of people, who saved about 200 of the *Tilbury's* crew. Fortunately for Britain, the wind at length shifted off shore, and, although the fleet lay for hours in a desperate plight, none of the other ships were lost. The casualties were, however, disastrous, and the list of them is sufficiently extensive to show that this severe Cape Breton storm was more destructive to the Royal Navy of England than both sieges of Louisburg.

Thus defeated by the elements, Holburne stationed 8 ships at Halifax, and conducted the remainder to England.

The refusal of the French admiral to give him battle was no reflection upon the honour of France. The masters of Cape Breton could afford to treat a naval demonstration against Louisburg with comparative indifference at so tempestuous a season of the year, and their determination to do so, in Holburne's case,

was especially wise, as a gaol distemper in Louisburg had seriously weakened their fleet.

When M. du Bois de la Mothe left Louisburg for Brest, in October, leaving two ships on the station, his fleet carried with it this virulent malady, which had destroyed 1,500 seamen, 150 English prisoners, and numbers of the inhabitants of Louisburg during the summer; and the dreadful disorder rapidly increased as the fleet approached the coast of Europe.

Anxious to annihilate the squadron which had prevented the reduction of Louisburg, the Imperial Ministry despatched the:—

	GUNS		GUNS
<i>Ramillies</i> . . . .	90	<i>Burford</i> . . . .	70
<i>Royal George</i> . . .	100	<i>Alcide</i> . . . .	64
<i>Neptune</i> . . . .	90	<i>Essex</i> . . . .	64
<i>Namur</i> . . . .	90	<i>Intrepid</i> . . . .	60
<i>Barfleur</i> . . . .	90	<i>Prince of Orange</i> .	60
<i>Royal William</i> . . .	84	<i>Rochester</i> . . . .	50
<i>Princess Amelia</i> . .	80	<i>Hussar</i> . . . .	28
<i>Magnanime</i> . . . .	74	<i>Shannon</i> . . . .	26
<i>Torbay</i> . . . .	74	<i>Biddeford</i> . . . .	20
<i>Dublin</i> . . . .	74		

under Admiral Hawke and Vice-Admiral Boscawen, from Spithead, on October 22nd, to attack it before it reached Brest; but the unpropitious elements which had shattered Holburne's fleet drove them off their station, and before the weather moderated the enfeebled French squadron got into Brest. The crews were then so deplorably weak that the King's Hospital, the City Hospital, the Hospital of Recouvrance, and the Churches of the Jesuits, Carmelites, Seven Saints, Capuchins, Notre Dame, Two Congregations, and La Chapelle du Cimitière were instantly filled with the sick; and, in this painful demoralisation of a powerful fleet which had helped to preserve the key of Canada, France paid a severe penalty for the deplorable neglect of sanitary laws in Louisburg.

## CHAPTER V.

THE postponement of the second siege of Louisburg provoked great discontent in England. The loss of Port Mahon in the previous year had maddened the people; and their indignation, consummated in the execution of Byng, had not subsided when Loudoun's decision not to attack Louisburg in 1757 was made public. The disappointed nation construed the delay into fresh evidence of the incompetence of its chieftains; and even Pitt, who had hazarded his power to defend Byng, vehemently censured Loudoun. The Earl did not merit this severe condemnation. When he arrived in America he had found Colonial military affairs in great disorder, owing to the differences between the Imperial and Colonial executives respecting the defence of the frontiers.

The Governors and principal members of the Provincial Assemblies proposed the enactment of Colonial laws and taxes for their own defence, by a Council composed of members of the Assemblies and the Crown Governors; but their fellow citizens in the British Isles, slow in comprehending the proper methods of administering Colonial affairs, proposed that Colonial defence should be exclusively conducted by the Governors appointed in London and one or two members of their Councils; and paid for by taxes levied upon the Colonies by the Imperial House of Commons.

Although the disorder caused by these divergent

views was extremely detrimental to the proper organisation of Colonial defence, Loudoun at length succeeded in effecting an arrangement which enabled him to project a blow at Louisburg. But the Imperial Ministry proved incapable of keeping his policy from the knowledge of the Court of Versailles, to which Dr. Henacy, of Arundel Street, a physician, frequenting London society, communicated tidings of the intending expedition, an exact account of the number of ships and transports to be conducted from England to Halifax by Holburne for that service, the troops on board, and the day of their departure; and in January, 1757, despite the vigilance of the British ships on the French coast, a strong squadron left Brest for Louisburg. A second Louisburg squadron from Toulon out-manceuvred the British in the Straits of Gibraltar; and a third from Brest, even more fortunate, also reached Louisburg to complete the most formidable French armament ever assembled in the capital of Cape Breton.

The imperial authorities, by permitting France to ascertain their policy, and enormously strengthen Cape Breton, thus failed to properly perform their part in the projected second siege of Louisburg.

By a fatality which proves that the elements are not always on the side of the English, the British-Louisburg fleet lay wind-bound at St. Helens, while France poured her forces into Louisburg, and Loudoun was delayed at Halifax one month by its tardy arrival. Further necessary delays at Halifax brought a season of the year at which a leaguer of Louisburg could not be attempted unless the city was weakly defended. This was not the case. A strong army lay behind her walls, a powerful squadron filled the harbour; and, when the strength of the defences was ascertained from despatches forwarded to Halifax by the Governor of Newfoundland, it was clear to the Halifax Council of War that the contemplated siege would last for

months. To invest Louisburg in August under these circumstances would have been bad tactics, imminently liable to cover British arms with disaster. The approach of the wet season would very seriously, probably fatally, embarrass an army besieging a city so guarded landward by swamps; and its necessary dependence upon a fleet exposed to the severe gales characteristic of Louisburg at that season of the year made the enterprise impracticable.

If the foresight of the Halifax Council of War needed confirmation, the disaster to the fleet off Louisburg shortly after emphatically vindicated their judgment. These considerations did not, however, weigh with a distant populace impatient for victory, and they apparently also failed to impress the more temperate Pitt.

The indignation of the nation, inflamed by the reduction of British North America to a "mere strip" along the eastern seaboard by Montcalm, and the recollection of Britain's numerous military failures since the Spanish War (1739) could not be restrained when the news of the postponement of the second siege of Louisburg reached England; and it became apparent that only a speedy return of victory to the standards of the Empire could allay the serious domestic unrest. An ebb in the tide of French triumphs was, however, at hand. The great Pitt, indignant at the humiliation of the national arms, adopted the politic measures of the general whom he censured; and, taught an imperial policy by New England, boldly advocated the reduction of all Canada.

Sir Charles Hardy was sent out to blockade Louisburg with the ships left at Halifax by Holburne; Commodore Durell repaired to Halifax to make everything ready for the embarkation of an army for Cape Breton immediately Admiral Boscawen reached the capital of Nova Scotia, and a large land and sea force was mobilised. The Court of Versailles, warned by

# 54 THE LAST SIEGE OF LOUISBURG.

Henacy, the spy-physician of Arundel Street, energetically prepared to defend the threatened Cape Breton capital, and

	GUNS		GUNS
<i>L'Ocean</i> . . . .	80	<i>Le Content</i> . . . .	64
<i>Le Redoubtable</i> . . . .	74	<i>Le Lion</i> . . . .	64
<i>Le Guerrier</i> . . . .	74	<i>L'Hippopotaine</i> . . . .	50
<i>Le Centaur</i> . . . .	74	<i>L'Oiseau</i> . . . .	30
<i>Le Souverain</i> . . . .	74		

were despatched from Toulon early in December (1757) under M. de la Clue, mainly to proceed into Louisburg at the earliest possible moment in the following spring. But Vice-Admiral Osborn intercepted them with the

	GUNS		GUNS
<i>Prince</i> . . . .	90	<i>Guernsey</i> . . . .	50
<i>St. George</i> . . . .	90	<i>Preston</i> . . . .	50
<i>Monarch</i> . . . .	74	<i>Ambuscade</i> . . . .	40
<i>Culloden</i> . . . .	74	<i>Rainbow</i> . . . .	40
<i>Swiftsure</i> . . . .	70	<i>Lyme</i> . . . .	28
<i>Hampton Court</i> . . . .	64	<i>Tartar's Prize</i> . . . .	24
<i>Monmouth</i> . . . .	64	<i>Deal Castle</i> . . . .	20
<i>Berwick</i> . . . .	64	<i>Gibraltar</i> . . . .	20
<i>Revenge</i> . . . .	64	<i>Fortune</i> . . . .	14
<i>St. Albans</i> . . . .	60	<i>Glasgow</i> . . . .	20
<i>Princess Louisa</i> . . . .	60	<i>Sheerness</i> . . . .	20
<i>Jersey</i> . . . .	60	<i>Favourite</i> . . . .	16
<i>Montagu</i> . . . .	60		

and shut them up in Carthagenia. From that port de la Clue appealed to the Court of Versailles for reinforcements to extricate his fleet, and, if necessary, to engage the British; and M. du Quesne was sent to his assistance with 5 ships of the line and a frigate.

Two of Du Quesne's ships succeeded in getting into Carthagenia; but of the remainder, *L'Orphée*, 64 guns, was captured by the *Revenge* and *Berwick*, sixty-fours, after a gallant engagement, in which the French lost 110 and the British 86 men killed and wounded,



and the *Foudroyant* by the *Monmouth* and *Swiftsure*, 64 and 70 guns, after a hot combat, in which France lost 190 and Britain 107 men killed and wounded. The *Ori Flamme*, 50 guns, was driven ashore under the Castle of Aiglos by the *Monarch* and *Montagu*, 74 and 60 guns, and she would have been destroyed but for the observance of the neutrality of the Spanish coast by Osborne; and the *Piciade* of 26 guns and the remaining ships escaped.

The Louisburg-Quebec squadron mobilised at the Isle of Aix in March was as unfortunate.

On March 11 Admiral Hawke left Spithead with the

	GUNS		GUNS
<i>Ramillies</i> . . .	90	<i>Intrepid</i> . . .	64
<i>Union</i> . . .	90	<i>Medway</i> . . .	60
<i>Newark</i> . . .	80	<i>Hussar</i> . . .	28
<i>Chichester</i> . . .	70	<i>Southampton</i> . . .	32
<i>Alcide</i> . . .	64	<i>Coventry</i> . . .	28

to intercept it; and at daybreak of April 4th he sighted some French ships, convoyed by three frigates, all of which, however, escaped into St. Martins, Isle of Rhee, except a brig which the *Hussar* destroyed. At four o'clock in the afternoon, when off the Isle of Aix, Hawke sighted the main squadron, consisting of the:—

	GUNS
<i>Florissant</i> . . . . .	74
<i>Sphinx</i> . . . . .	64
<i>Hardi</i> . . . . .	64
<i>Dragon</i> . . . . .	64
<i>Warwick</i> . . . . .	60

six or seven frigates, and 40 transports, which cut their cables and fled in such disorder that many of them ran ashore. At daybreak the men-of-war were seen lying upon the mud almost high and dry, and some, with many of the transports, actually upon their beam ends. But, owing to the shoalness of the water, Hawke could not destroy them; and, assisted by men sent in

launches from Rochefort, the French carried out warps and threw their stores, guns, ballast, and water overboard to extricate themselves before fireships were sent in among them.

By the evening of April 5th some of their warships got up to the mouth of the Charante, but the transports still lay aground towards Isle Madame; and, after cutting away more than 80 buoys laid by the French upon their abandoned anchors and destroying the new military works upon the Isle of Aix, Hawke withdrew his fleet.

Meanwhile the last British armada against Louisburg had left Spithead for Halifax, and Sir Charles Hardy had commenced the blockade of Louisburg. But, notwithstanding Hardy's vigilance and the vigilance of the British Admirals in European waters, a strong French squadron carrying troops and supplies of every kind, commanded by M. de Chaffant, stole into the harbour. The French commander did not remain long at Louisburg. Dreading to be shut up in the port, and foreseeing his fate he hastened to Quebec, reluctantly leaving 6 of his ships and some frigates to help to defend the place at the earnest request of Drucour. At Halifax the British Armada swelled to 39 warships, 2 fire ships, 118 transports, and more than 12,000 troops by the accession of the ships on the station, Bragg's Regiment, 200 Carpenters, and 538 New England troops; and, after a stormy passage along the Nova Scotian coast, the whole of the magnificent flotilla dropped anchor before Louisburg.

## I.

Attend who list to hear our fair Cape Breton's praise,  
I tell an old olden tale of her "Colonial" days;  
Of the proud citadel that held an Empire's keys:  
Royal Louisburg of story, mistress of these seas.

. . . . .

Night on foam encircled coasts and Louisburg falls,  
 Shrouding the citadel and long embattled walls ;  
 These, sheltering the city, full many an acre span,  
 Fortified, according to the system of Vauban.  
 More than ten thousand feet their winding circuit runs,  
 Pierced and embrasured for small arms and guns ;  
 And, raised on land elevations, the main batteries  
 Loom fifty feet above the level of the seas.  
 Three guns are mounted on the battery at the Spur,  
 Eighteen on the Queen's, fifteen on the Collier ;  
 Two stand at the Wood Wharf, three at Billingsgate,  
 And the Batteries de la Grève seven elevate ;  
 Twelve more are mounted on the Dauphin Battery,  
 Fifteen on the Duke of York's, on the Cavalier three,  
 Nineteen at the Duke's, on the citadel eighteen,  
 Two at the West Curtain, six at the magazine.  
 Seventeen arm the " half moon " on the Point Rochefort,  
 Thirty-nine on Battery Island guard the outer port ;  
 And in the Grand Battery, turned to the open sea,  
 Loom thirty heavy guns, and, near the Lighthouse,  
 three.  
 The city streets lie east and west, also north and south ;  
 Six approach the ocean, seven the harbour mouth.  
 Them, numerous houses line, in the numbered wards ;  
 Six gates from them egress to the environs affords.  
 Barracks, stores and hospitals line the city squares,  
 In the citadel are the halls for State affairs ;  
 And the churches' precincts reserve an ample space,  
 For chapels, seminaries, and needed works of grace.  
 Below the landward wall a deep moat circulates,  
 Crossed by massive bridges to the western gates ;  
 Thence, from the glaxis, a marshy plain sinks low,  
 Ocean surrounds the rest ; the crowded port also.  
 Thousands of citizens inhabit the inner town,  
 Subject to Drucour, and loyal to the crown.  
 And Acadian exiles, from their loved Grand Pré,  
 There find a last asylum ; and around the bay,  
 Acadia's richest commerce still centres in the port,

Thriving 'mid war's alarms 'neath the mighty fort.  
And heaped quays and warehouses, the rich trades  
attest,

That ply the marts of Europe and the hidden West.  
Castille's roving traders export their precious store,  
Strange barter of the Arctic thro' the city pour;  
And trades of Terra Nova o'er her jetties flow,  
With traffic of the Indies and dreamy Esquimaux.  
'Midst the merchant shipping, anchor'd near the shore,  
Loom the stately fabrics of fourteen ships of war.  
Their tapered masts aloft Gaul's regal ensign show:  
*Le Prudent* and *Diane*, *La Chèvre*, *La Biche*, *L'Écho*,  
*L'Aréthuse* and *Le Fidèle*, *Célèbre* and *Bienfaisant*,  
*Le Capricieux*, *L'Apollon*; and the *Entreprenant*,  
*La Comète* and *Bizarre* the Royal flotilla swell;  
(The same that 'scaped from the port ere the city  
fell).

Pierced by six hundred guns, these ride the fretful  
wave,

Between the Barrachois and the Battery de la Grève.

Not witting that, at Gab'rous, a great armada staid,  
At midnight, wrapt in slumber, is the city laid;  
Till, to her gates, Acadians hasten thro' the night,  
Who thus accost the guard, in accents of affright:  
"Soldiers of King Louis, drowsy with wine and dance,  
To arms! dream not of the pleasant land of France.  
'Tis not meet to slumber while foemen line the shore,  
Or, at Gab'rous shine the lights of Albion's ships of  
war.

The guns of countless frigates, o'er Ile Royale frown,  
Ho, sentries, fire a piece and wake the threatened  
town!"

Then loud shouts and outcries, and running up and  
down,

And hurried blasts of trumpets, disturb the sleeping town ;

From her sombre belfries alarm bells sharply peal,  
The Governor's Council meets for the public weal.  
To the landward gates a doubled guard withdraws,  
The magazines are opened, and the ordnance stores.

High o'er the citadel rises a blood-red light,  
Reddening the city, the port, and outer night.  
Far o'er the hills the Acadians in reflection see ;  
And, with their wives and children, to the city flee.  
South, west, and east, and north, answering beacons spread ;

High on the Mira Hills they shine, and on Morien Head,  
Till, like a flaring diadem, o'er each primeval shire,  
On mountain, crag, and headland, twinkle points of fire.

From Gabarous, the British look forth into the night.  
And trace from cape to cape the flickering beams of light.

The collier at Morien forsakes his sunless caves,  
The fisher leaves his barque on Bras d'Or's restless waves ;

From the Fort St. Anne armed men ride forth,  
The Micmac hastens from his wigwam at Cape North.  
And thro' the Acadian hamlets dust-stained couriers dash,

As to Quebec overland, Drucour's despatches flash.  
Thro' the city gates Acadians come pouring in,  
Choking the narrow streets and increasing the din.  
Some to the dim-lit chapels piously repair,  
And psalm and supplication rise on the hallow'd air.  
Towards the wharves boats plunge thro' the harbour sea,

With the men of Main à Dieu, Morien, and Scatterie,  
Who hast'ly beach their barques and disappear in the throngs,

Chanting, as they go, old-world fisher songs.  
 'Mid the roar of voices the gallant Governor comes ;  
 Round him swarms the populace, loudly beat the drums.  
 From the citadel his staff press a clam'rous ring,  
 And hoist, 'mid loyal shouts, the banner of the King.  
 Haughtily the trumpets peal, and sweetly chime the  
     bells,  
 As on the whistling winds the liled emblem swells.  
 'Mid strains of joyful music outspreads its silken fold,  
 O'er the sombre battlements of the royal stronghold ;  
 And from the Dauphin Battery bursts a deaf'ning  
     roar,  
 As a royal salute shakes the stormy Breton shore.  
 Thousands of hardy Basques that stern defiance hear ;  
 And from fourteen ships rolls back many a cheer.  
 Higher o'er the citadel streams the blood-red light,  
 Reddening all the forts, the town, and outer night ;  
 And from her furthestmost suburbs, e'en to the "Cover'd  
     Way,"  
 Louisburg is as bright, as busy as the day.

## II.

At Gab'rous the British wait the slow subsiding swell :  
 The *Centurion*, fifty guns, commanded by Mantell,  
 The *Namur*, ninety guns, by Admiral Boscawen,  
 The *Prince of Orange*, sixty guns, by daring Fergusson,  
 The *Princess Amelia*, eighty guns, by Durell and Bray,  
 The *Burford*, seventy guns, by the bold Gambier,  
 The *Oxford*, also a "seventy," by th' heroic Spry,  
 And the *Sutherland*, a "fifty," anchored close by ;  
 The *Defiance*, and the *York*, and the *Pembroke* also,  
 Strong "sixties," captained by Baird, Pigot, and Sim-  
     coe,  
 The *Somerset*, a "seventy," reeling heavily in the van,  
 The *Prince Frederick*, a "sixty-four," carrying gallant  
     Mann,



Edgecumbe's *Lancaster*, with seventy guns (or more),  
 And Amherst's rakish *Captain*, a dashing "sixty-four";  
 With seventy loaded guns, lashed in dread array,  
 Lord Colville's *Northumberland* rolls upon the Bay;  
 Swanton's *Vanguard*, a "seventy," pitches on her lee,  
 With troopships from Annapolis, on th' Acadian sea.  
 The *Terrible* heaves near them—a stately "seventy-  
 four,"

With Collins on her deck, watching the Breton shore;  
 Her eighty guns securely lashed, on the stormy sea,  
 Rides the *Royal William*, with Evans and Charles  
 Hardy;

And straining far to leeward, in the foaming swell,  
 Reels the gallant *Nottingham*, command by Marshall;  
 The *Devonshire*, "sixty-six," and the *Bedford*, a "sixty-  
 four,"

With Fowke and Gordon (gallant chiefs), are anchored  
 in shore;

The frigate *Juno*, *Nightingale*, *Boreas*, and *Trent*,  
 Lie off Flat Point Beach, with double cables bent;  
 The *Gramont* and the *Hunter*, the *Hind* and *Port*  
*Mahon*,

The *Diana* and the *Hawk*, and the trim *Shannon*,  
 And the *Kennington* and *Scarboro'*, their straining  
 cables tax,

Near the *Etna*, and the *Lightning*, and the *Halifax*;  
 The *Squirrel* and the *Beaver's* lights in the distance  
 show,

Westward of Cape Noir, near the *Kingston* and *Tyloc*;  
 And more than a hundred transports swell the armada's  
 length,

Crowded with the veterans that contribute to its  
 strength.

(Such a mighty armament the Acadians never saw  
 In any port of Ile Royale, either in peace or war.)

## III.

Soon to brighter realms the Gabarous coast returns,  
 With orient splendour the noble harbour burns ;  
 And rosy sunrise gilds the forest-covered shires,  
 The white Acadian villages, and the city spires.  
 'Long the British line the clash of arms is heard,  
 To the lowered boats the army is transferred ;  
 Trumpets gaily peal, loudly rolls the drum,  
 And down the swaying gangways, trusted leaders come.  
 The French in silence wait, or on their batt'ries rise  
 To hurl derisive cheers and loud insulting cries.  
 The indignant seamen to their long oars bend,  
 To their rapid stroke the soldiers impulse lend.  
 Torn by advancing prows, the foaming waves divide,  
 And to Ile Royale three strong flotillas ride.  
 Barricades and breastworks line the o'erhanging land,  
 At the foam-strewn beaches masked batt'ries stand,  
 Eight guns defend the landing place at Freshwater  
 Cove,  
 And on the promontories, Gaul's Micmac allies rove,  
 At the Flat Point Landing ten more cannon hide,  
 Train'd on all approaches o'er the swirling tide ;  
 And an eight-gun batt'ry guards the White Point shore,  
 Help'd by armed flotillas stretching to Cape Noir.  
 There, posted to resist, but clamorous to advance,  
 Huddled in their boats, lie the Marines of France ;  
 And holding all approaches to the city gates,  
 With a feeble army, the bold St. Julien waits :  
 (The 31st Regiment, raised by King Henry IV.,  
 Called by the populace, the Regiment Artois.  
 The 42nd Regiment, by the fourteenth Louis raised,  
 Or Regiment Cambise—the Second Battalion).  
 The 62nd Regiment, formed by Marshal Vivonne,  
 Or Regiment Cambise—the Second Battalion).  
 Les Volontaires Étranger, two companies of Artill'ry,  
 Twenty-four companies of Royal Infantry ;

And the Louisburg Militia, a brave and loyal band,  
Form'd by the burghers to defend their adopted land.

Wolfe with the Left Brigade Freshwater Cove attacks,  
With the Frigate *Kennington* and the *Halifax*;  
Lawrence leads the centre, towards Flat Point Cove,  
Where the *Shannon*, *Diana*, and *Gramont* are hove ;  
Whitemore's Right Brigade threatens the White Point  
shore,

Where the guns of the *Sutherland* and the *Squirrel*  
roar ;

And the Bay o' Fundy transports, with Bragg's regi-  
ment,

Under escort to Port Lorambec are sent.

This to perplex the French, Amherst's strategy des-  
tines,

And harass with alarms their long-extended lines.

From Freshwater Cove the unmasked batt'ries pour  
Storms of deadly grape, as the boats approach the  
shore ;

But, holding high their weapons, th' undaunted infantry  
Leap, with derisive shouts, into the foaming sea.

Toss'd 'mid the confus'd billows, this intrepid band,

Urged by excited thousands, struggles to the land.

Thro' showers of blinding spray, leaping rock to rock,

They rush up the beach to meet the battle's shock.

One thousand French assail them with a concentrated  
fire,

But, 'mid the iron tempest, onward they aspire.

Wolfe, waving high his sword, to their succour comes ;

Trumpets loudly peal, and loudly roll the drums.

Urged by th' excited rowers, the boats dart to the land,

Graze the sloping beach, and heel over on the sand.

O'er their broken thwarts the fierce Highlanders pour,

And the Grenadiers rush tumultuously to war ;

Bugles and bagpipes scream, th' unequal battle urge ;

A mighty throng tramps down the gurgling surge.

Thro' th' eddying smoke their dripping banners wave,  
 Triumphantly advancing, followed by the brave.  
 Forming on the beach, the scattered corps rejoin,  
 To stem a furious rush of the Regiment Bourgoyne;  
 Then, 'mid smoke and spray, fierce for the impending  
 rout,  
 They charge, with flashing bayonets, and a mighty  
 shout.

The Light Infantry scales the impregnable height,  
 And flanks the dreaded batt'ries on St. Julien's right;  
 And Whitemore, with Lawrence, hastily enfilades  
 The road to Louisburg with the Second and Third  
 Brigades.

St. Julien waves his sword; loud his imperious call  
 Rings thro' the battle and the scream of mingled ball:  
 "Forward, soldiers of the Regiment Bourgoyne!  
 Grenadiers d'Artois, with those of Cambise join!  
 Shall England's hated banners us insolently flout?  
 List how, on Ile Royale, her Highland rabble shout!  
 Soldiers of Old France, behold our ancient foe!  
 To them, and to Acadia, our noble valour show!  
 Royal Louisburg is lost if their van prevail!  
 Shall hostile lips to France ere relate that tale?  
 No! heroes of the past live comrades in thee!  
 Forward, sons of heroes, drive Britain to the sea!"  
 Thus St. Julien exhorts, commands, and e'en entreats;  
 But Fate and flashing steel the hero's zeal defeats.  
 Before the dreaded bayonet his confus'd corps retire;  
 Along the whole line his batteries cease fire;  
 Arms, ammunition and stores in heaped confusion lie;  
 The colours are trampled down; the wounded left to  
 die;

Deserted cannon smoke 'mid the heaps of slain;  
 And the stricken army scatters on the plain.  
 Some flee to Louisburg o'er a concealed way,  
 Thro' the leafy forest; some stray to Mira Bay;  
 More, chased to the cliffs, no land road discern,  
 And by the rugged margin of the deep return;

And others, slowly rallied, turn and flee once more,  
As from the roaring beach the shouting Britons pour.

. . . . .

Along the main high road, reluctantly and slow,  
The steadier corps fall back, firing on the foe ;  
The "Louisburg Militia," around their flanks extends,  
And with conspicuous valour the last retreat defends.  
Hemmed in by British steel, this disciplined band  
Yields only to the bayonet the dear Acadian land ;  
But their Micmac allies still hover on the plain,  
And compel the conquerors to conquer it again.  
The bugle's piercing note o'ertakes the distant flight,  
And recalls some fugitive to th' unequal fight.  
St. Julien hastens with them to the harassed rear,  
And checks the British van ; such slight success cheer  
The crush'd battalions thro' the difficult retreat,  
And soothe with deed of valour th' unretrieved defeat.  
Fatigued with war, at last all reach the staring town ;  
The batt'ries open fire, the bridges are let down.  
Those to whose care the city's western gates belong,  
Unbar them and admit th' ever-thickening throng.  
O'er the bending causeways pours the beaten host,  
Mingled with refugees from all along the coast ;  
And last, the whelmed rear, with quickened pace re-  
treats  
Thro' the low-arch'd gateways to the choked streets.  
Push'd by the trembling people, the gates together clash,  
'Gainst the massive arch the rais'd drawbridges crash ;  
The cannon on the ramparts repel the rash attack,  
And from the measur'd range the British troops fall  
back.  
But Wolfe draws near the city, meditates its fall,  
And studies the design of her well-formed wall.

. . . . .

Many who have travelled from Kennington Cove  
to Old Louisburg over the ground traversed by the  
British on June 8th, 1758, and regarded the ruins of the

fortress, have doubtless tried to picture the city as it appeared to the victors after the battle. The following extract from a letter written by a British officer on the ground probably gives a fair idea of its appearance as Wolfe studied the fortifications:—

"Louisburg is extremely well fortified all round; it has double ranges of guns, like two tiers of a ship, on the south side, which point westerly, strengthened by double entrenchments about 100 yards from the glacis; besides, they can bring their ships to bear upon almost every post we shall take to cover our approaches, and particularly a valley which we must pass through. The east and north side of the town are defended by their shipping and the Island Battery, besides the fortifications of the town itself, which are not trifling."

#### IV.

Louisburg's vesper bells peal sweetly o'er the lea  
 As sunset redly shines on the calmer sea,  
 To her dim-lit sanctuaries pious priests repair,  
 And psalm and anthem rise upon the evening air;  
 Around the hallowed altars the reverent people kneel  
 As loud through the city martial trumpets peal,  
 And the muffled booming of some distant gun  
 Breaks the holy calm of evening's orison.  
 In the dark'ning port shines the warship's lamp;  
 Flaring watchfires light the neighbouring British camp;  
 Behind the Mira Hills sinks a roseate light,  
 And Ile Royale enters the sombre realms of night.  
 Beyond the city walls, near thirteen thousand men  
 Cover the green hills and intervening fen.  
 Within their tented lines, flushed with martial strength,  
 Lies Lascelles' Regiment, the gallant 47th;  
 And the 45th—the Sherwood Foresters,  
 Who garrison'd Louisburg with the New Englanders.  
 As thro' the length'ning shadows of the summer gloom,  
 Her lofty battlements and numerous towers loom.



Seated round their camp fires, an epic tale they tell,  
 Of the first siege of Louisburg by Colonel Pepperrell ;  
 How fishers from the Banks, pale toilers from the mills,  
 Puritanic merchants and yeomen from the hills,  
 Left Nantasket Roads to seize the dangerous town,  
 And rent the massive walls and tore her lilies down.  
 " Britain did not bolder deed, in the brave days of old ! "  
 Soldier cries to soldier, as th' inspiring tale is told,  
 And loud applauses rise, as the narrators tell  
 How they marched thro' the gates when the city fell.  
 The 40th Regiment, a skilled and veteran corps,  
 Trained in western tactics and Acadian war,  
 First at Annapolis their Red Cross banner waved  
 (That old Acadian fort by Fundy's water laved).  
 Thro' Newfoundland and Maine is blazed their martial  
 trail,  
 And now the French at Louisburg 'fore their valour  
 quail.

The 48th Regiment, spared Fontenoy and Dettingen,  
 They routed the Pretender on the field of Culloden.  
 On Flanders' fertile plains they saw their comrades die,  
 Upon the field of Val their mouldering heroes lie ;  
 They marched for Fort Duquesne, and with sorrow tell  
 Of the ill-starred campaign in which Braddock fell ;  
 But at the gates of Louisburg they vow to wipe away  
 The stain laid on their laurels that disastrous day.  
 The 15th Regiment, whose veteran companies  
 Began the fray at Blenheim and bled at Ramillies.  
 At Oudenarde and Malplaquet they helped the fateful  
 day,

They filled the reeking trenches at arduous Tournay.  
 Mons, Bouchain, and Douai their noble deeds recall  
 (Still in the womb of time lies their siege of Montreal).  
 And, fresh from Europe's plains, their bravest and  
 their best

Clamour for the laurels of " The Dunkirk of the West."  
 The 1st Royals, that glorious Regiment  
 Famed on many fields and still on glory bent ;

## 68 THE LAST SIEGE OF LOUISBURG.

Europe's war-worn plains their bravest blood has dyed,  
At Blenheim, on their ardour Marlborough relied ;  
At Oudenarde they triumph'd ; nor do the French  
forget

The valour of the 1st at bloody Malplaquet.  
Their royal banners waved 'mid the smoke of Ramillies ;  
And now at Louisburg they seek fresh victories.  
The 17th Regiment, the gallant Leicestershires,  
To first pass thro' the gates this bold corps aspires.  
Marlborough's campaigns round them a halo threw,  
They fought and bled at Liége, at Huy, and at Venloo.  
Their sufferings at Landau still Briton's pity stir,  
And Europe yet remembers their valour at Namur.  
At the Siege of Gibraltar their desperate valour  
weighed ;

At terrible Almanza they perished but obeyed ;  
And now at Louisburg their treasured banners wave  
Upon the Green Hills, surrounded by the brave.  
The 35th Regiment, sobriqueted " The Orange Lilies,"  
Which served at Cadiz and in the Antilles,  
At sunny Barcelona they roused th' applause of Spain,  
At terrible Almanza they mourned over their slain ;  
And now at Louisburg they plant their orange flags  
On the marshy fen, near the 28th (Old Bragg's)—  
The 78th Regiment (" Fraser's Highland Clan ").  
Two battalions of the 60th, or " Royal American,"  
The bold Boston Rangers ; the 58th of Anstruther's,  
Colonel Bastide's Engineers, Maserve's Carpenters,  
Some Marines from the fleet (Boscawen's contingent),  
A Brigade of Artillery, and the 22nd Regiment.

### V.

Soon to brighter realms the rugged Breton coasts  
return,  
The wooded shires anew with orient splendour burn ;  
Forth from the leaguered city booms a morning gun,  
The leaguers' watchfires slowly wither in the sun.

Thro' the neighbouring forest thudding axes sound,  
 And trees crash noisily to the mossy ground.  
 Yoked oxen drag them o'er deep intervening bogs  
 To Maserve's Carpenters, who cut them into logs;  
 And 'neath the rising earthworks dexterously shape  
 The solid batt'ry frame, 'mid stinging showers of grape.  
 In the noisome trenches a thousand soldiers toil,  
 Helped by Highlanders, who bind the up-thrown soil;  
 From the rugged highways roads thro' the camp are  
 made

O'er the sinuous streams strong bridges are laid;  
 And long trains of heavy siege artillery  
 Wind slowly to the lines from the adjacent sea.  
 To the raised redoubts more troops huge cannon draw  
 O'er the morass between the city and Cape Noir;  
 Others build blockhouses on Count Raymond's roads,  
 And beat back th' Acadians or intercept the loads  
 Of firewood and food that roll to the Dauphin Gate  
 From Mira's fertile farms, "By Order of the State."  
 The French, by daring sorties, retard these works of  
 war,

But meanwhile from their outposts steadily withdraw.  
 From th' abandoned Grand Battery smoke and flames  
 ascend,  
 The Lighthouse guns are spiked, and unable to defend  
 Port Lorambec, Drucour forsakes its stores and arms,  
 And combats the tightening siege 'mid increasing alarms.

*L'Écho* leaves her moorings near the harbour neck,  
 With despatches for the Viceroy, and steers for  
 Quebec.

The *Sutherland* discerns her, through th' eddying mist,  
 Attacks, and signals for the *Juno* to assist.  
 The combat rages fiercely on the foggy sea,  
 Post Lor'mbec, Main à Dieu, and barren Scatterie.  
 Through the curious "Tittle" the frigate bears away,  
 Hauled to the wind, and escapes through Mira Bay.  
 The *Sutherland* and *Juno* pursue with press of sail,

## 70 THE LAST SIEGE OF LOUISBURG.

Heedless of the dangers in the rising gale ;  
Firing gun for gun as they weather Morien Head,  
They furiously engage on the neighbouring roadstead ;  
But, manœuvring her foes to her " weather " and her  
" lee,"

*L'Écho* rakes them both, and dashes for the sea.  
The *Sutherland* and *Junó*, reeling 'mid th' iron hail,  
Thunder through her roaring wake, spreading every  
sail.

Hull'd off Flint Isle by their double-shotted guns,  
Through the whistling gale the gallant frigate runs ;  
But, raked off *Espagnol*, she yields th' unequal day,  
And hauling down her flag drifts into the Bay.

The pursuit of *L'Écho* was one of the most exciting incidents of the siege, owing to the presence of the wives of the Governor and other gentry of Louisburg on the frigate. The ladies were endeavouring to escape to Quebec with their jewels, plate and other valuable effects.

### VI.

Around the forts of Louisburg British batt'ries stand,  
Enveloped in a mist that covers sea and land ;  
And the squadron cruising at the entrance to the Port,  
Lies motionless in shore off Le Batterie Rochefort.  
But, as evening breezes lift the spectral gloom  
Along the embattled line sullen cannon boom,  
And o'er Louisburg bombs fall in hissing showers,  
Shattering her ramparts and conspicuous towers.  
The forts reply : on the British lines descend  
Furious iron tempests, which all the region rend ;  
And Hardy's fleet, unmask'd on the adjacent sea,  
Feels the plunging fire of the Barbette Batterie.  
Wolfe's Grenadiers, with shouts, seize the eastern port,  
And, unspiking all the guns in the Lighthouse Fort,  
Turn on Battery Island the powerful ordnance

There stationed to uphold the majesty of France.  
 From the Island and the fleet 300 cannon pour  
 Furious storms of ball along the captured shore ;  
 But Wolfe, with larger guns through Lorambec supplied,  
 Hurls increased destruction o'er the rippling tide.  
 Six days the conflict rages, watched from the walls,  
 Till, ruined by British guns, th' Island Batt'ry falls.  
 The exploding magazine undoes the toil of years,  
 And each buttress from its deep foundation tears ;  
 The shaking waves rebound from the convulsed Isle,  
 Thund'rous echoes roll inland for many a mile,  
 And, hurled from the platforms, dead and dying soar  
 To the startled city and the opposite shore.  
 From the shattered fort shells of flame ascend,  
 To the *débris*-strewn sea th' hissing guns descend ;  
 Gaul's lilied banner drifts uncared for on the tide,  
 And smoking silence hovers o'er the wrecks of pride.  
 Now ill defended, all the beauteous harbour lies,  
 And shouts of consternation from Louisburg arise  
 As Hardy's ships approach the entrance to the port,  
 Answering gun for gun Le Batterie Rochefort.  
 Baffled by head winds, the British fleet bear down  
 On the harbour, watch'd by all the shuddering town.  
 High on the lofty prows the rugged pilots stand,  
 Conning the ships between the Islands and the land ;  
 With wide flung open ports they tack to the Strait ;  
 At their townward guns the eager seamen wait.  
 The Lighthouse guns cease fire, lest they hurt the fleet,  
 Their gunners loudly cheer, not witting of defeat ;  
 But, warped to the " Narrows," five noble ships of war  
 Are anchor'd in the Strait, by order of Drucour :  
*L'Apollon*, *Le Fidèle*, and the fleet *Diane*,  
*La Biche*, and *La Chèvre*, and a merchantman.  
 Moored by heavy chains, they close the narrow way,  
 A sacrifice to honour, to panic, and dismay ;  
 Their pierced hulls receive th' Atlantic's saline wave  
 And slowly disappear the threaten'd port to save.

From the perilous bar bold Hardy's ships retire,  
 'Mid the cheers of Louisburg and Point Rochefort's  
 fire ;

But the ruined fleet to the harbour wall withdraws,  
 Crushed by a cannonade from the Lighthouse shores.

## VII.

The clock bell slowly chimes in the city tower,  
 And tired sentries count the tedious passing hour.  
 Through the shattered fleet the " watch bell " harshly  
 tolls,

And from Hardy's ships a fainter cadence rolls.  
 The tranquil moon sheds no light on the watery waste  
 As past her radiant orb vapour masses haste.  
 Through her gloomy forest a humid night wind sighs,  
 And solitude broods pensive 'neath the clouded skies.  
 Worn with the toils of war 'sieged and besiegers stay,  
 And lose in heavy sleep memories of the day ;  
 All but Drucour, dejected and opprest,  
 The fate of Ile Royale weighs upon his breast,  
 As from the citadel his heavy eyes survey  
 The British camp, the wall, and the tragic bay.  
 Madame Drucour with him the lonely vigil shares ;  
 Partner of his joys, she does not shun his cares ;  
 And thus (she hears) the harassed Governor cries,  
 As leaning on the wall she echoes his sighs :  
 " Oh Dream of Empire ! 'plauded in gilded courts,  
 For thee long vigils pass in these shattered forts ;  
 For thee that mighty camp whitens yonder hill,  
 And two nations bleed as their monarchs will ;  
 Gold wrung from patient toil wastes in foreign war,  
 And devastating armies roam the Red Man's shore.  
 Phantom of Empire ! ever luring East to West ;  
 Behold our fleet lost in th' imperial quest !  
 All around see crumbling the toil of thirty years ;  
 The concentrated waste of thirty million livres !  
 To-day of Battery Island ingloriously bereft,



But weaken'd walls and Rochefort to Louisburg are left;

Our suburbs lie in ruins, or hold a tireless foe,  
Count Raymond's roads are closed, an unexpected blow,  
Abandon'd for lack of troops the Lighthouse Battery lies,

And th' intrepid Wolfe has seized that useful prize,  
The ruined Grand Battery blackens on the shore;  
Sacrificed also to th' exigencies of war,  
Charles Hardy's ships across the harbour mouth are lain,

And to us no methods of relief remain.

Th' Acadians who on Mira's beauteous banks reside,  
'Tis true, with Boishebert in yonder forest hide;  
But what avails the valour of those loyal bands,  
When 'tween them and Louisburg that Grand Army stands?

Some ships, 'tis true, lie huddled at the Harbour wall.  
O that they'd filled the gap at the Island's fall!  
Then on the fathomed sea honoured they would lie;  
Look, from Louisburg *L'Aréthuse* prepares to fly!  
Sheltered by a mist, they warp her to the seas;  
To France, or destruction, the gallant frigate flees.  
Long in the 'leaguered port by doubtful war confined,  
She navigates the Straits 'fore a friendly wind.  
Hark! from the Lighthouse Wolfe signals to the fleet.  
Look! Hardy chases her, unbinding every sheet!  
Farewell *Aréthuse*, had others fought so well,  
A bolder tale to Louis might thy Vauclin tell!

. . . . .

But thou, loved wife, doth still a bold example show,  
To those that quail before th' encroachments of the foe;

When on these walls three loaded cannon daily stand,  
Ready for the lighted match in thy tapered hand!

O touching spectacle, midst smoking ordnance,  
To see at Louisburg a matron of France;

What wonder that the troops, fired by such zeal,  
 Thus sacrificed themselves for the public weal!  
 But if help does not come Louisburg must fall;  
 These scanty troops can't hold her extended wall.  
 Then heap'd with foul reproach thy Drucour thou'lt  
 see,

The scorn of angry France and of posterity!"  
 Thus repines Drucour, the pitying matron hears,  
 And in mild accents thus answers him with tears:  
 "Grieve not, thou has proved thy valour and thy  
 worth;

Thine were not the counsels that gave this crisis birth.  
 'Tis true that 'leagu'd here there but remains to thee  
 A town with shatter'd walls, hemmed by land and sea,  
 That Hardy's ships across the harbour mouth are lain,  
 And that to us no methods of relief remain;  
 But Canada is safe, while on the Breton coast,  
 Absorbed in war thou keepeth that presumptuous host.  
 Let woman's wit supply counsel to the State,  
 If yield thou must keep Britain long at the gate  
 Till the St. Lawrence closes—hold out at least so far,  
 And save for La Belle France Quebec and Hoch'laga.

By sorties from the gates repel th' aggressive foe,  
 For the glory of the King strike some signal blow;  
 If Louisburg must fall, let history sing the praise  
 Of how Drucour defended her in the olden days."

Although the sinking of so many fine ships in the mouth of the harbour was an admission that his position had grown critical, Le Chevalier Drucour combated the siege with unshaken firmness, and the fleet and forts poured shot and shell upon the British lines. The continuous musketry fire from the covered way also greatly annoyed the besiegers, and the sorties from the gates grew so formidable that they prevented a

general assault upon the city on the 8th of July. That day at sundown the loud booming of the siege artillery suddenly ceased; the French artillery also ceased fire, and the calm of a summer evening succeeded the clanging crash of metal, the clatter of falling masonry, and the hoarse cheers of defiance or triumph from the ramparts and trenches. The clear sky stretched over head like a panoply, but a light mist rolled lazily along the earth, concealing the lower part of the city, whose battlements rose picturesquely above the vapour.

As the darkness deepened the tranquillity of the scene increased. The voices of the seamen on the battleships in the port died away, the hum of the city was hushed; its dark shadows stood out prominently against the sky, and no sound arose from the host that surrounded or the multitude that inhabited it save the hoarse cries of the sentries, telling that all was well in Louisburg.

The first army of England was, however, preparing for a general assault, and the soldiers, wearied of the monotony of the siege and the hardship of the trenches, eagerly received the directions of their leaders.

The French were making similar preparation, and at 11 o'clock, five piquets, supported by seven hundred men, sortied, from the walls, skirted the coast as far as Cape Noir, passed the British lines in dramatic silence, and stormed an important redan held by Forbes' Grenadiers. The unexpectedness of this sortie, the danger of an attack in concert by the Canadians at Mira, and the difficulty of discovering the extent of Le Chevalier Drucour's attempt to destroy the siege batteries, threw the grand army into slight confusion. Major Murray, of the 15th Regiment, immediately besieged the captured redan with Whitemore's and Bragg's Grenadiers. Troops hurried to their support, and after a desperate resistance the French were forced out of the redan to the city walls.

This affair forms a striking instance of the bravery

of the defenders of Louisburg. Indeed, it would be difficult to find a better illustration of their courage than this daring venture of a handful of troops into the lines of an enemy nearly 13,000 strong. The statement that most of the sortiers were in liquor is unworthy of belief, both from the courage and system they displayed, and the fact that they arrested a general assault upon the city. They took their lives in their hands and fought gallantly for the city and the glory of the King's arms. Their conduct was in keeping with the traditions of the French army, and our own annals contain few more dramatic displays of martial courage. By a curious coincidence, while they were struggling to hold the redan and later retiring not ingloriously into Louisburg, their compatriots at Ticonderoga were celebrating the overwhelming defeat that day inflicted upon the second army of England; and while the British were driving the sortiers back, the largest army ever mobilised in America under the flag of England up to that time was in full retreat from Ticonderoga.

This night affair at the redan cost the lives of Lord Dundonald, captain of Forbes' Grenadiers, a corporal, and three men; and eleven officers and twenty-nine men were wounded, captured, or missing. The French lost a captain and seventeen men, most of whom fell in the redan; four men and one lieutenant were wounded or captured, and many others killed or wounded were carried off in the retreat. At the expiration of the short truce granted the French to bury their dead, the leaguer of Louisburg was resumed with a determination equalled only by the stubbornness of the defence, and the British commanders began to fear that the campaign of 1758 would be consumed in reducing the city. The Chevalier Drucour's object in opposing the overwhelming forces that surrounded him with such obstinacy was doubtless, to a large extent, the regard for the glory of the King's arms

which had animated him throughout his career. The hope of assistance from Quebec or France also sustained him, although he suffered the mortification of seeing some succour beaten back from the port by Sir Charles Hardy. But the "grand motif" which induced Drucour to expose so many people to the horrors of a protracted siege, the dangers of a general assault, and the risk of harsh reprisals by the victors at the fall of the city was the statesmanlike policy of preventing the British from ascending the St. Lawrence.

Le Chevalier Drucour fully realised the imperial importance of keeping the British out of the St. Lawrence while General Montcalm resisted the second army of England, and, assisted by his intrepid wife, who daily discharged the duties of a gunner on the ramparts to inspire the garrison, he sustained the gallant defence which still deserves the admiration of the world. The burning and capture of the remainder of the French fleet between July 21st and July 25th interrupted these tactics.

For days expert naval gunners, stationed in the British batteries, tried to ignite the powder magazines of the French ships left in the port, and on July 21st a ball pregnant with fate pierced the powder room of the *Entreprenant*, one of the finest ships in the Royal Navy of France, which immediately took fire and blew up with a concussion that terrified Louisburg. The conflagration spread to the *Capricieux* and *Célèbre*, "64's," and in spite of every exertion to save them, the three ships burned to the water's edge, bombarding themselves with their exploding guns amid the cheers of the grand army. The *Bienfaisant* and *Prudent* lay for some time in imminent danger of a similar inglorious fate, but the heroic French seamen ultimately towed them to a place of safety through a storm of British shot. A few days later Admiral Boscawen determined to cut them out to open the port. The attention of the French was distracted by a vigorous



cannonade from all the British batteries, and scaling ladders were ostentatiously displayed at the front to lead them to anticipate a general assault on the land side. By this *ruse de guerre* the French were drawn to the land walls about midnight, while 600 men, divided into two squadrons, commanded by Lefroy and Balfour, stole into the harbour in barges and pinnaces. Passing close to the Island Battery and within hail of the town, screened by a thick fog, the British dashed for the *Bienfaisant* and *Prudent*; but as the boats ran alongside, the sentinels at the gangways of both battleships raised a loud alarm. The French crews rushed tumultuously from below, and the well-known British cheers, the clash of cutlasses, the rattle of musketry, and the confused uproar soon warned Louisburg of what was happening in her fog-bound port. The city was instantly thrown into disorder. Threatened, it seemed, with an assault by land and sea, the consternation of the inhabitants almost developed into a panic, and some artillerymen increased the confusion by turning the guns of the harbour and Point Rochefort forts on the *Bienfaisant* and *Prudent*.

This blunder sealed the fate of the remnant of the French fleet. The crews, finding themselves unexpectedly exposed both to the British and to the guns of Louisburg, gradually surrendered, and the *Bienfaisant* was towed into the north-east harbour by the exultant British seamen. The *Prudent*, which lay so hard aground that she could not be moved, was set on fire after some small craft had been moored alongside for the escape of her crew.

The events of the next few hours were a repetition of those of yesterday; and the spectacle of the *Prudent* burning fiercely on the harbour waters, with her brave seamen pouring over the sides into the vessels left for their escape, affected the French almost to tears. Tongues of crimson flame darting from her ports and hatchways, ascended with incredible rapidity to her lofty



masts, blazed through the intricate riggings, enveloped the ponderous yards, and expanded into vivid sheets as the sails burst their lashings and took fire. Clouds of black smoke pouring from all parts of the ship hung like a pall over the harbour; her guns exploded, hurling destruction into the city; and the blackened ruins of the *Prudent* soon disfigured the sparkling waves. Flames burst intermittently from the hull until nearly eight o'clock; but at that hour the beautiful battleship was reduced to a mass of charred timber, and in her smouldering ruins expired the last hopes of Louisburg.

. . . . .

The "town party" now loudly clamoured for the surrender of the city, and the "military party" was as sensible that the end had come. The forts were shattered and the walls breached by the accurate fire of the British artillerymen; the reinforcements despatched by France and the Viceroy of Canada had been beaten back, and not even the remnant of a fleet existed. The wisdom of an immediate surrender was clear to the humblest habitant; and as the British could be seen preparing a general assault, a drummer beat the *chamade* at 10 o'clock in the morning, and a flag of truce was hoisted on the Cavalier Battery. The Town Major then went out with offers from Drucour to surrender the city on much the same terms as the French had allowed the capitulating English at Port Mahon in 1756; but General Amherst, exasperated at a long defence which had disorganised his plan of campaign in the St. Lawrence, told the Town Major that rather than grant the honours of war to the garrison he preferred to carry the city by assault.

The Chevalier de Drucour was so incensed at this reply that he decided to defend the city to the last extremity. But, when this heroic decision became known, the civic authorities, headed by M. Prevot,

the Intendant, hastened to the palace and implored him to spare the inhabitants the horrors of an assault. They pointed out that the city would be ravaged with fire and sword, urged that the Highlanders and Rangers would spare neither age nor sex, and intimated to His Excellency that the responsibility for the horrors of the event would rest solely upon himself. While the civic and military parties held high debate the people surrounded the palace, murmuring at the obstinacy of the military, and crying out that the Governor was more solicitous for the glory of the King's arms than for the welfare of the King's subjects. The tumult increased when the truce conceded by the English expired and the British army prepared for the assault. The citizens appealed to General Whitemore, who commanded the troops nearest the city, for an extension of the armistice; and when, on his own responsibility, he granted fifteen minutes more, they surrounded the Governor's palace and implored him to surrender the stronghold. The increasing unrest of the populace moved Drucour; and, after a dignified resistance to their importunities, he at length agreed to capitulate on the hard terms of the besiegers. When the Town Major reached the camp of the grand army he found the troops preparing for a general assault on the city. His opportune arrival arrested their advance; and after some discussion the following terms of capitulation were mutually agreed upon:—

“(1) The garrison of Louisburg shall be carried prisoners of war to England, in the ships of His Britannic Majesty.

“(2) The artillery, ammunition, and provisions, as well as arms of all kinds in the town of Louisburg and on the islands of Cape Breton, St. John, and their appurtenances, shall be delivered, without damage, to Commissioners appointed to receive them for the use of His Britannic Majesty.

“(3) The Governor shall order the troops on the island of St. John, and its appurtenances, to embark on the ships sent by the admiral to receive them.

“(4) The gate called Port Dauphine shall be surrendered to the troops of His Britannic Majesty to-morrow morning at 8 o'clock, and the garrison, including all those that carried arms, shall be drawn up on the Esplanade at noon, there lay down their arms, colours, implements, and ornaments of war, and then embark upon the ships prepared for their reception.

“(5) The same care shall be taken of the sick and wounded in the hospitals, as of those belonging to His Britannic Majesty.

“(6) The merchants of the city, and their clerks, that have not carried arms, shall be sent to France in such manner as the Admiral shall think proper.

“(7) No terms to be allowed to deserters, Canadians, or Indians.”

The articles of capitulation were signed under circumstances not since paralleled in the history of Cape Breton. On the neighbouring sea lay the fleet, on the green hills the triumphant first army of England, and between them, circumvallated by British guns, stood the key of Canada; its scientific walls shattered by the long cannonade; its hospitals, churches, nunneries, public buildings, and dwellings injured by explosive shell, and its picturesque port disfigured by a ruined fleet.

The flag of France still fluttered at the citadel staff, but the intimidated citizens heeded it not. Their eyes were turned towards the spot where the signatories to the capitulation had assembled; and, as a group of

## 82 THE LAST SIEGE OF LOUISBURG.

French officers was seen slowly returning to the gates, a sigh burst from the multitude. The accumulated power, wealth, and military science of France had tottered to a fall in Cape Breton, and a hated rival again held the key of her Colonial Empire.

## CHAPTER VI.

THE difficulties under which Le Chevalier Drucour defended Louisburg for seven weeks have not received generous, or even proper, prominence in narratives of the siege by British authors. But to less partial students of the event Drucour appears a heroic figure in his leaguered city, hemmed in by 41 warships and about 13,000 men; weakened by disloyal mercenaries, who could not be allowed to mount guard or converse together; and dismayed by the repulse of the succour sent to him—vigorously harassing the British, directing the sortie, frustrating the intended assault, sinking his ships in the harbour mouth, and, accompanied by his intrepid wife, diligently superintending the whole complicated system of defence. The end came only when the city was *in extremis*, and under circumstances in which no soldier need feel ashamed. As he later wrote from Andover: "The captain of a ship strikes when his vessel is dismasted, his riggings cut to pieces, and several shot received between wind and water. A governor of a town surrenders a place when the breaches are practicable and when he has no resource."

Such, said Drucour, was the case at Louisburg, and he had no alternative but surrender. He naturally tried to make the best possible terms for the King of France, and a condition upon which he laid the greatest stress, therefore, was: "That the honours of war should be granted to the garrison on their surrender, such as the right to march out with their firelocks on their shoulders, drums beating, colours flying, twenty-four

charges of ammunition for each man, etc., etc." These terms had been granted by Marshal Richelieu to Governor Blakeney and his garrison at Port Mahon in 1756, with the observation that: "The noble and vigorous defence which the English have made having deserved all the marks of esteem and veneration that every military person ought to show such action; and Marshal Richelieu being desirous, also, to show General Blakeney the regard due to the brave defence he has made, grants the garrison all the honours of war that they can enjoy."

Amherst's refusal to grant these terms was a diplomatic mistake. The French fought well, and deserved an acknowledgment of their defence of the city. The concessions solicited by Le Chevalier Drucour would not have dimmed the prestige of the British arms, and they might have spared England the reproach that she hated the valour of her foes.

The conduct of the French admiral has been severely censured by Sir John Bourinot, who states that De Gouttes effected nothing for the defence. The views of this Cape Breton historian receive some support from the subsequent treatment of the admiral by the French Court; but they are not supported by the testimony of the grandfather of "Chinese Gordon," who erected the last two batteries against Louisburg. This eye-witness kept a diary of the siege, which is now one of the most valuable accounts of the last leaguer of Louisburg, and the following review of the conduct of the French fleet is from this authentic source:—

The landing of heavier guns, ammunition, stores, etc., for Wolfe's batteries, in a cove to the eastward of the lighthouse, was jealously watched by the Marquis de Gouttes, who endeavoured to prevent the landing of these munitions of war by towing a sloop armed with two 32-pounders as near the cove as possible, under cover of the Island Battery.



The duel between this armed sloop, supported by the powerful armament of the Island Battery, and the British warships was a creditable affair, and cost the British frigate *Diana* at least six men killed and wounded. The warm participation of the French fleet in the subsequent spectacular artillery duel between Battery Island and Wolfe's "Lighthouse" Batteries is further evidence of the admiral's activity. On June 27th Gordon recorded a constant fire from the French ships on the British working parties, on June 29th the killing of a grenadier of the 40th Regiment in his tent by a shot from one of them, and a very hot bombardment of the British works, which rather abated towards evening, owing to the explosion of a 13-inch shell in the most active ship. Her crew were thrown into great confusion by this accident, and used all despatch to save the ship by throwing her powder overboard. The work on the epaulement, then under construction by the British, was much interrupted by this naval bombardment, particularly by the broadsides from the *Aréthuse*, which was stationed as high up the harbour as the depth of water would permit, with her guns trained upon a low pass by which the British were obliged to advance.

On July 1st, although Drucour had reduced the strength of the fleet by sinking a number of ships in the harbour mouth, during which operation the *Aréthuse* went out and extremely annoyed the British, the French admiral kept up a hot fire on the British all night. On the 2nd the tediousness of making the epaulement, exposed to the incessant fire of the *Aréthuse*, was noted by Gordon. On the 3rd the violent cannonade of the British lines by the decimated French fleet lasted all day; and a combined hot bombardment by the ships and the town took place the following day. The fire of the French ships on the 5th was "very smart" all day; and on the 6th they briskly returned the fire directed upon them by the British batteries, although

the *Aréthuse* was in a damaged condition. Two days later the French ships engaged the British batteries, and on the 9th they bombarded them without intermission. On the 11th the fire of the French ships was very hot, but on the 13th it slackened, continued slack through the 14th, and on the following night the *Aréthuse* escaped.

The escape and pursuit of this gallant frigate was an exciting incident of the blockade of Louisburg.

She passed safely through the British lines, and arrived in European waters; but shortly afterwards (May 18th, 1759) she was captured by the *Thames* and *Venus* between Rochefort and Brest, after a sharp engagement, in which she lost 60 men, and the *Thames* 15. Her capture was hailed as a signal event in England, as she was the fastest, and one of the most formidable, frigates in the French navy; and the Lords of the Admiralty acknowledged the intrepidity of her officers by releasing them on parole.

After the escape of the *Aréthuse* the French fleet continued to annoy the British, and on the 20th one of the ships was partially dismasted by the siege batteries. On the 21st a shot from the British marine battery destroyed the *Entreprenant*, *Capricieux*, and *Célèbre*. On July 23rd the remaining ships bombarded the British lines, but on July 25th they were captured by Admiral Boscawen's cutting-out expedition, and the French fleet was extinguished.

With these facts before us it is impossible to believe that the French admiral contributed nothing to the defence of Louisburg.

## CHAPTER VII.

LOUISBURG was not interfered with on the day of the capitulation. The grand army remained within its lines; Sir Charles Hardy's ships hovered off the harbour mouth; others rode at anchor along the coast or moved towards the horizon, and stillness reigned over the theatre of strife until the pealing of melodious bells announced the hour of vespers in the fallen city. The religious services on that memorable evening were doubtless marked by a solemnity which impressed the humiliated citizens; and the officiating priests might have exclaimed, in the language of the author of the Book of Lamentations:

"How doth the city sit solitary, she that was great among the nations.

Her adversaries are the chief; her enemies prosper.

The kings of the earth and all the inhabitants of the world would not have believed that the adversary and the enemy should have entered into the gates.

But thou hast destroyed the wall. Thou hast made the rampart to lament; they languish together; our gates are sunk on to the ground, and Thou hast destroyed and broken their bars.

Our enemies open their mouths against the city, saying: We have swallowed her up, certainly this is the day that we looked for.

Our inheritance is turned to strangers, our houses to aliens.

The crown is fallen from our heads; woe unto us that we have sinned!

But Thou, O Lord, remaineth for ever, and Thy throne from generation to generation.

Turn Thou us unto Thee, O Lord ; renew our days as of old.

O Lord, behold our affliction ! "

At the close of the services the people promenaded the streets up to a late hour ; others wandered curiously over the huge fortifications that had once more failed to uphold the majesty of France ; and many of the refugees shut up in the city seized an opportunity of escaping through the breach into the interior.

The demeanour of the people was in general orderly, but towards midnight the lower orders mingled with the soldiery that thronged the cabarets, and repeatedly disturbed the peace of the city. Some shops and store-houses were plundered, and the restlessness of the Indians increased the alarms of the night. The Micmacs, for whom no terms had been made at the capitulation, justly dreaded the entry into the city of a conqueror who had objected to any consideration being shown them ; and both Drucour and Prevot, the Intendant, were greatly relieved when nearly five hundred of them made their escape around the Island Battery in canoes.

The churches of the city remained opened all night for the hasty marriage of the girls who could be induced to take husbands to protect them from the feared licence of the British occupation.

Many fair Acadians modestly availed themselves of the opportunity for matrimony, and some interesting Cape Breton romances reached a hymeneal stage at the altars of Louisburg before the British Grenadiers appeared at her gates.

## CHAPTER VIII.

AT eight o'clock in the morning Major Farquhar led three companies of Grenadiers to the West Gate, and occupied its approaches until noon. Few of the inhabitants witnessed the humiliating ceremony; but at noon the entire population flocked to points of vantage to witness the surrender of the city. The French troops were marched to the Esplanade, where Le Chevalier Drucour and his staff, Admiral Boscawen, Sir Charles Hardy, and Philip Durell, Amherst, Wolfe, Whitemore, Lawrence, the Governor of Nova Scotia, and a distinguished assembly of military and naval officers awaited them. After formal salutations had been exchanged, the Governor and the military officers of high rank surrendered their swords, the civil Governor delivered up the keys of the city, and the garrison reluctantly resigned their standards and arms to the conquerors. The 58th Regiment and the 3rd Battalion of the 60th then camped on the glacis, and the fleet entered the harbour, followed by a long train of transports. The French flag was left flying on the walls, as after the first capture by the New England Militia thirteen years before; and five Dutch ships, laden with provisions for the French, entrapped by this *ruse de guerre*, rewarded the tactics of the conquerors. The *Countess of Claremont* and a richly laden French merchantman were also secured. Three days after the capitulation Captain Amherst, the General's brother and aide-de-camp, left for England in the *Shannon*, Captain Edgecumbe, with despatches and all

the captured standards; but the *Shannon* had hardly disappeared on the horizon with the tidings of victory when a vessel from Halifax beat into Louisburg with the tidings of the defeat of the second army of England at Ticonderoga.

A council of war was immediately held on the flagship, and General Amherst proposed that, after providing for the defence of Louisburg, the armada should ascend the St. Lawrence. But the defence of Louisburg by Drucour had consumed so much time that it was too late for a military expedition to ascend the river; and Amherst discovered that he could only assist Abercrombie through Boston. This he undertook as promptly as possible with the 2nd Battalion of the 1st Royals, the 17th Regiment, the 47th Regiment, the 48th Regiment, and the 63rd Regiment, convoyed by the *Captain*; but he arrived too late to retrieve the misfortunes of the second army, and his troops were sent into winter quarters.

By keeping the British before Louisburg so long that they dare not ascend the St. Lawrence to assail Montcalm's rear, Le Chevalier Drucour thus rendered good service to France; and it may be said that his defence of Louisburg temporarily preserved French Canada.

As affairs settled in Louisburg, detachments of troops occupied the Morien and other colleries in the neighbouring coalfield—a rich district destined to be the scene of industrial activity which would revive the commercial importance of Louisburg. St. Anne and Sydney (Espagnol) were also occupied, and on August 8th Lord Rollo issued from Louisburg with the Light Infantry of his own (the 22nd) regiment, the 40th and 45th Regiments, and some other forces, to occupy Prince Edward Island—the island of St. John—upon which Quebec to some extent depended for supplies of food. The Lieutenant-Governor of the island refused



to acknowledge the articles of capitulation, and resisted every attempt the British made to land. Lord Rollo then drew up his forces, and threatened to destroy the forts by general assault. The resistance of the French could not under the circumstances be effective ; but the Lieutenant-Governor appears to have considered that the glory of the King's arms and a proper regard for his own reputation demanded some formal opposition to the British. The defence of St. John's (Prince Edward) Island lasted, however, but several hours ; the British pressed with accumulated weight on Port la Joie (Charlottetown), and the garrison of 500 men at length surrendered as prisoners of war.

Meanwhile the first army of England remained encamped on the glacis of Louisburg or behind its original lines. The late Governor was treated with respect, and Madame Drucour, who received high consideration, enjoyed the personal friendship of Wolfe and Amherst, whom she had probably met through her capture on the *Écho*, and to whom she had sent "pyramids of sweetmeats" or fresh butter made by her own fair hands during the siege. She turned her popularity to account, humanely devoted herself to increasing the comforts of the captives, and endeavoured to reconcile them to their humiliating lot. Her good offices were needed, for the French did not conceal their dislike of the English, and openly rejoiced on July 31st, when an exaggerated rumour of the defeat of the second army of England at Ticonderoga spread through the city. This, and the suspicion that the funds of the Royal exchequer had been secreted before they entered the city, irritated the British, and the relations between the conquerors and the conquered were unfriendly. The tension was at last relieved by the despatch of the French combatants to England. The garrison and invalid soldiers were embarked by the Grenadier companies of the 40th, 47th, 48th, and 63rd Regiments on the 9th of August ; the sailors of



They pass the narrow causeway 'mid the martial throng,  
 Till, at last, in Louisburg their glorious banners wave,  
 Blazoned by the sunset, and honoured by the brave);  
 The 48th, which saw at Val its boldest heroes die,  
 Whose dead upon the road to Fort Duquesne lie;  
 The 15th, whose tried and veteran companies  
 Shared the strife at Blenheim, and fell at Ramillies;  
 The 35th Regiment, the gallant "Orange Lilies,"  
 Which served at Cadiz and in the Antilles,  
 Who mourned at Almanza their numerous heroes slain,  
 And roused at Barcelona the loud applause of Spain;  
 With trump and drum and laughter they proudly march  
 along,  
 Pressed to the gates of Louisburg by the thick'ning  
 throng,  
 Holding high above them their shining orange flags,  
 Followed by the 28th, sobriqueted "Old Braggs";  
 Two battalions of the 60th, the 58th (Anstruther's),  
 Colonel Bastide's Engineers, Maserve's Carpenters,  
 The Marines from the fleet (Boscawen's contingent),  
 A brigade of Artillery, the 22nd Regiment;  
 And last, the camp followers, intent on wine and dance,  
 In the stronghold wrested from the humbled power of  
 France.

Through the thick'ning tumult the gallant Whitmore  
 comes,  
 'Mid th' haughty peal of trumps and the loud roll of  
 drums;  
 And on the war-worn citadel amidst a serried ring,  
 He points 'mid loyal shouts the banner of the King.  
 And haughtier the trumpets peal, and louder chime the  
 bells,  
 As on the evening breeze the British emblem swells;  
 'Mid strains of joyful music outspreads its silken fold  
 O'er the shattered battlements of the great stronghold.  
 From the shell-scarred batteries bursts a deaf'ning roar,  
 And a royal salute shakes the conquered shore.

## 94 THE LAST SIEGE OF LOUISBURG.

England's hardy mariners the voice of triumph hear,  
And from a hundred ships rolls back a loyal cheer.  
Beyond the Mira Hills sinks the roseate light,  
And Ile Royale enters the dusky realms of night

. . . . .

Then from every casement lights joyously flash forth,  
Bright lamps illumine the batt'ries facing to the north,  
Ruddily on the Green Hills flares the tall bonfire,  
And peals of triumph crash from every city spire.  
High o'er the citadel streams a blood-red light,  
Reddening all Louisburg and the outer night;  
From the shining battleships rockets soar on high,  
Bursting in brilliant showers 'neath the cloudy sky;  
And on the blazing Esplanade the regimental bands  
Raise th' exciting melodies of the Fatherlands.  
From the boisterous barracks rise laughter and rise  
song,

The roaring streets are vocal with a joyful throng;  
And in the crowded cabarets the Boston Rangers tell  
The story of the first siege by General Pepperrell:  
How fishers from the "Grand Banks," toilers from the  
mills,

Puritanic traders and yeomen from the hills,  
Left Nantasket Roads to seize the royal town,  
And rent the walls and tore her glorious lilies down.  
"Britain did no braver deed in the days of old!"  
Cry the veterans of Europe as the tale is told;  
And shouts and clinking glasses rise as the Rangers tell  
How they marched thro' the gates when the city fell.

. . . . .

The French non-combatants, unwilling to remain in Louisburg as British subjects, to the number of about 1,700, were next embarked for France; but numbers of them did not reach Europe.

One of the largest transports engaged in their deportation, laden with 300 men, women, and children, sprang a leak off the south-west coast of England on

December 11th, and after passing four days at the pumps the crew deserted her 30 leagues from Land's End. As they pushed off from the sinking ship the forsaken people crowded the rail and entreated them to at least save their revered priest. The sailors consented to do so, and after admitting him into one of the boats they left the hapless Cape Breton folk on the sinking vessel. Thirty hours later they reached Penzance, and the inhabitants of that old Cornish burgh then learned with humane horror that while they rejoiced over the fall of Louisburg many of her expatriated citizens were perishing in misery on the neighbouring sea! Another transport, laden with 307 men, women, and children, was cast away on the coast of St. John (Prince Edward) Island, and 213 of her people were lost. Several others met a similar fate, and a large number of the expatriated French inhabitants of Cape Breton and Prince Edward Island consequently perished wretchedly on the tempestuous seas to which their conquerors committed them.

. . . . .

Meanwhile the British cleaned and repaired Louisburg. The breach in the walls was closed, two hundred and thirty cannon were mounted upon the ramparts, and the key of Canada once more became a menace to the realm it had been created to defend.

## CHAPTER IX.

THE *Shannon* reached the British Isles on August 18th, and Captains Edgecumbe and Amherst delivered their despatches to the King. George II. received the news of the second fall of Louisburg with undisguised delight, for the capture of the stronghold, nearly 6,000 men, eleven stands of colours, immense quantities of arms, ammunition, and stores, and the destruction of a French fleet was a glorious triumph at a critical stage in the career of British arms.

The news spread all over the kingdom with inconceivable rapidity, and the despondent people received it with unbounded enthusiasm. Commenting on the public excitement, the *London Chronicle* of August 26th said: "It is natural to pass from dejection to exultation. When we lost Minorca, in 1756, a general panic fell upon the nation; and every man met his neighbour with a clouded forehead and a downcast eye, as if London had been besieged. But now that Louisburg is taken our streets echo with triumph, and blaze with illuminations."

The popular joy increased as the details of the siege became known; thousands of bonfires blazed over England, joy bells pealed in countless spires, and thanksgiving services were held in all the churches and chapels. The Synod of Perth and Stirling appointed a day of public thanksgiving; patriotic poems were published, and addresses of congratulation poured in upon the King from the cities, towns, or boroughs of London, Bristol, Bath, Exeter, York, Lincoln, Chester,



Norwich, Yarmouth, King's Lynn, Wells, Renfrew, Kirkby-in-Kendal, Bolton, Nottingham, Southampton, Dublin, Glasgow, Liverpool, Newcastle-on-Tyne, Carlisle, Berwick-on-Tweed, Kingston-upon-Hull, Taunton, Totnes, New Sarum, Tewkesbury, Huntingdon, Poole, Dorchester, Northampton, Boston, Portsmouth, Bridgeport, Plymouth, Shaftesbury, the States of the Island of Jersey, and the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and the College of Dublin.

The following addresses are typical of these civic congratulations :—

### LONDON.

“MOST GRACIOUS SOVEREIGN,

“Amidst the joyful acclamation of your faithful people, permit us, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Lord Mayor, Aldermen, and Commons of the City of London, in Common Council assembled, humbly to congratulate your Majesty on the success of your arms in the conquest of the important fortress of Louisburg, the reduction of the Islands of Cape Breton and St. John, and the blow there given to a considerable part of the French navy. An event so truly glorious to your Majesty, so important to the Colonies, trade, and navigation of Great Britain, and so fatal to the commercial views and naval power of France, affords a reasonable prospect of the recovery of all our rights and possessions in America, so unjustly invaded; and in a great measure answers the hopes we formed when we beheld the French power weakened on the coast of Africa, their ships destroyed in their ports at home, and the terror thereby spread over all their coasts.

“May these valuable acquisitions, so gloriously obtained, ever continue a part of the British Empire, as an effectual check to the perfidy and ambition of a nation whose repeated insults and usurpations obliged your Majesty to enter into this just and necessary war;

and may these instances of the wisdom of your Majesty's councils, of the conduct and resolution of your commanders, and of the intrepidity of your fleets and armies, convince the world of the innate strength and resources of your kingdoms, and dispose your Majesty's enemies to yield to a safe and honourable peace.

"In all events we shall most cheerfully contribute, to the utmost of our power, towards supporting your Majesty in the vigorous prosecution of measures so nobly designed and so wisely directed."

### EXETER.

"TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"May it please your Majesty,—

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the Mayor, Aldermen, and Common Council of the City of Exeter in Chamber assembled, humbly beg leave to approach your Royal Throne with our warmest and most sincere congratulations on those signal and repeated successes with which it has pleased Almighty God to distinguish the justice of your Majesty's arms against the common disturber of the peace of Europe.

"That most important fortress and harbour of Louisburg, lately the dread of our Colonies and fisheries, is now become their bulwarks. No longer alarmed at threatened invasions, we now spread the terror of our arms through those coasts which had hitherto boasted of being beyond the reach of insult. . . . Events like these will distinguish with glory the annals of your Majesty's reign, and be a lasting monument of the wisdom and steadiness of the councils by which they were concerted, and of the conduct and bravery of the commanders entrusted with the execution. From the continued pursuit of the like prudent and vigorous measures, from that remarkable unanimity and un-

common zeal with which the whole nation is united in support of the public interests, from the ardour and intrepidity which animate your Majesty's fleets and armies, and above all from an humble confidence in the Divine protection and assistance, we cannot but form the most pleasing expectations that our haughty enemy will at length be obliged to submit to the terms of a safe and equitable peace."

. . . . .

The Chamber of the City of Exeter resolved to present the freedom of the city to Admirals Boscawen, Hardy, and Durell, and to Generals Amherst and Wolfe, as a testimony of their great regard for their merit in recovering and maintaining the honour of the British arms; also to Major Hardy, of Duroures' Regiment, for his brave behaviour in his station at Kennington Cove.

### NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE.

"TO THE KING'S MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY.

"The humble address of the Mayor, Recorder, Aldermen, Sheriff and Common Council of the Town and County of the Town of Newcastle-upon-Tyne in Common Council assembled.

"We, your Majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, beg leave to congratulate your Majesty upon the success of your arms, particularly in so important an instance as that of taking Cape Breton, a place of the greatest consequence to the commerce of these kingdoms, and essential to the security of your Majesty's dominions in America. May the Almighty continue to give success to the wisdom and vigour of your Majesty's Councils, and still crown your arms with victory in the prosecution of this just and necessary war. May Cape Breton ever be preserved as a most valuable jewel in

the Imperial Crown of Great Britain. May that Crown be long worn on your Majesty's sacred head, to the joy and comfort of your people; then handed down in your family to latest posterity for the preservation of our religion, laws, and liberties; in support of which glorious purposes your Majesty may depend on our utmost efforts on all occasions.

"Given under our Common Seal this 30th day of August, A.D. 1758."

. . . . .

At Dublin the Flag was hoisted on the Birmingham Tower of the Castle, and the regiments on duty marched with a detachment of artillery and four field pieces to St. Stephen's Green. Three rounds, 21 guns each, fired from the Salute Battery in Phoenix Park, were answered by the field pieces on the Green and by a running fire of all the regiments, the whole making a most pleasing *feu de joie*; and the night concluded with illuminations, ringing of bells, and the greatest demonstrations of joy ever known in the Irish capital. At Penrhyn, in Cornwall, the event was celebrated by the incessant ringing of bells, the illumination of windows, by bonfires, and by an "apparatus of fireworks" consisting of various mines, pots d'Aigrette, rockets, wheels, vertical and horizontal maroons, pyramids of fire, Hercules pillars, Roman candles, fire sheaves, and a representation of the sun in his meridian lustre, with "G. R." in the centre, etc., which was carried through the town preceded by beating drums, fifes, and flying colours, and exhibited at the King's Arms tavern amid the plaudits of an immense crowd. The windows of the King's Arms were decorated with illuminated transparent pictures representing the arms of Great Britain blazoned on their proper colours, the British lion trampling on the standard of France, Admiral Boscawen's ship with the blue flag at her topmast head,

the bombardment of Louisburg, and the surrender of the city. At the close of the display the leading inhabitants supped in the tavern and paid particular marks of distinction to a noble piece of English roast beef decked with the arms of Great Britain over those of France, which was ushered into the room with the pomp of beating drums, the music of fifes, and full military honour. This dish was borne around the room amid the shouts and cheers of the company, and deposited upon a sideboard, where it was dissected with a broadsword, after the company had sung "The Roast Beef of Old England" and "God Save Great George, Our King."

Alnwick, Berwick, Hexham, and other North of England towns also distinguished themselves by enthusiastic celebrations of the fall of the Cape Breton stronghold.

At Whitby two salutes of fifteen guns were fired from the batteries, and the militia echoed with their small arms the thunder of the large guns. At night the windows of every house, from cellar to garret, blazed with candles. The time-honoured bonfire also blazed in every street, and crowds of people paraded the town with flaming pitch barrels. Beer was abundantly distributed to the militia and the gunners "to assuage the fluency of their zeal." "This," says the chronicler, "like oil thrown into a furnace, made it burn brighter, fiercer, and longer"; and the healths of his Majesty, Pitt, and Admiral Boscawen were repeatedly drunk amid salvoes of artillery and the rattle of musketry. All over the kingdom the people vied with each other in celebrating the Cape Breton *coup de main*; and even the pauper population, as at Saffron Walden, joined their scanty resources to illuminate the workhouse windows in honour of the fall of the Dunkirk of the West. At the height of the public excitement the eleven stands of colours captured at Louisburg were paraded before the King at Kensington Palace by:

A sergeant and 12 Horse Grenadiers ; a field officer and officers in proportion ; 80 Horse Grenadier Guards ; 80 Life Guards, with officers in proportion, and their standard, kettledrums, and trumpets ; a sergeant and 12 Grenadiers of the Foot Guards ; 11 sergeants of the Foot Guards carrying the 11 French colours advanced ; and 4 companies of Grenadiers of the Foot Guards.

His Majesty received them standing upon a carpet laid upon the Palace steps ; and, after inspecting the trophies, ordered them to be deposited in St. Paul's Cathedral with full military honours.

. . . . .

Then towards St. Paul's a mighty concourse turns,  
As in the west the sun's autumnal brilliance burns.  
Through the Parks and Stable Yard th' elated Guards  
advance,  
Exultantly displaying the liliated flags of France.  
Amid th' admiring host the Gallic standards wave,  
Hail'd by the chivalrous as trophies of the brave ;  
Along the crowded Mall and Strand into the narrow  
Fleet,  
Moves the joyful pageant, swelling at every street,  
As from th' adjacent purlieus excited thousands pour,  
Mixed with eager multitudes from the Surrey shore ;  
And ever as they march along triumphantly they sing :  
" Louisburg is ours ! God bless great George, the  
King."

Britannia's sons, rejoice,  
To George exalt your voice ;  
God save the King !  
In whose auspicious reign  
Cape Breton we regain,  
And, in recording strain,  
Victory sing.



Amherst and Boscawen,  
And all their British men,  
Like heroes shone,  
Thanks be to patriot Pitt,  
Whose penetrating wit  
And wisdom judged it fit  
To set them on.

O grant, thus nobly won,  
That never Cape Breton  
Again may fall!  
May British hands protect,  
While British hearts direct  
And Gallic schemes detect.  
God save us all.

From housetop and window crowds watch th' thick'ning  
throng,  
And join exultant shouts to its triumphant song.  
More from the eastern wards, hastening to St. Paul's,  
Augment the masses surging 'round the hallowed walls,  
Who lustily, as they wait, loud applauses raise,  
To Amherst and Boscawen, and Wolfe and Lawrence  
praise.  
From the batt'ries of the Tower cannon loudly peal ;  
Within a hundred spires noisy joy bells reel ;  
And thrice three loyal cheers the narrow churchyard fill,  
As the flags of France appear on Ludgate Hill ;  
And with trump and shouting and roaring kettledrums,  
To the cathedral door the long procession comes.

. . . . .

When the troops succeeded in opening a passage  
through the throng, the Lord Bishop of Oxford, the  
Dean, the Bishop of Bristol, and Dr. Taylor, two of the  
Residentiaries, the Minor Canons, Vicars, and choristers  
of the cathedral, received the colours, and forming in

an ecclesiastical procession, proceeded to the choir, chanting the following anthem :

" We will rejoice in Thy salvation, and triumph in the name of the Lord our God.

Now know I that the Lord helpeth His anointed, and will hear him from His holy Heaven, even with the saving strength of His right hand.

Some put their trust in chariots, and some in horses, but we will remember the name of the Lord our God ! "

At the close of the anthem the colours were deposited in the Lord Mayor's vestry with ecclesiastical pomp, amid the booming of the Tower and Park guns, and the Dean and Residentiaries took their stalls for the evening service.

The service was conducted with the devotion of a people to whom the Great Being, worshipped for one thousand years on that sacred spot, had at length vouchsafed a great and needed victory, and a solemn hush filled the vast edifice while the choir rendered the following anthem :—

" The king shall rejoice in Thy strength, O Lord ; exceeding glad shall he be of Thy salvation.

Thou shalt present him with the blessings of goodness, and hast set a crown of pure gold upon his head.

O Lord, grant him a long life, that his years may endure throughout all generations.

He shall dwell before God for ever.

O prepare Thy loving mercy and faithfulness that they may preserve him.

As for his enemies, clothe them with shame ; but upon himself let his crown flourish. Amen.

Let Thy mercy, O Lord, continue upon him for evermore ; and Thy counsel stand fast with him.

Let his seed endure for ever, and his throne as the days of heaven.

O be joyful in the Lord, all ye lands ; sing, rejoice, and give thanks "

After the general thanksgiving, the prayer of thanksgiving for the taking of Louisburg was read, and at the close of the service many of the congregation, mingling with the outer crowd, followed the Guards west, keeping step to the music of their fifes and kettledrums.

. . . . .

The pride of the nation increased when the captive garrison of Louisburg arrived in England and testified to the bravery of the British before the city, and the popularity of the navy was immensely enhanced by the accounts of the destruction of the *Entreprenant*, *Capricieux*, and *Célèbre*, the cutting out of the *Bien-faisant*, and the spectacular burning of the *Prudent* in the blockaded harbour. These events appealed powerfully to the imagination of a nautical and war-like people like the English, and Boscawen's arrival at Portsmouth was the signal for renewed rejoicings. The town was illuminated all night, the crews were fêted by the delighted people, and the triumphant admiral was greeted by civic functions in his honour, and the following poetic tribute to his valour:—

“Boscawen comes! and Fame prepares his way,  
 The Tritons smooth the billows of the sea,  
 Upon the beach Britannia's genius stands,  
 Salutes the hero, and his martial bands.  
 Welcome, thrice welcome, O my dearest son;  
 Well hast thou in the course of glory run!  
 Accept the tribute of a grateful Isle  
 Who sings thy triumph, to reward thy toil.  
 When thou serene in Anson's thunder shone,  
 I saw thy courage, marked thee as my own.  
 Pleased with my choice I led the furious ball  
 To urge thy vengeance on the haughty Gaul.  
 Still as thou feel'st the honourable scar  
 Thy country rises, arms thy breast for war.  
 A wound's a passport, through the gates of Fame,

Proclaims the hero and augments his name.  
 As Time his dusty annals shall explore  
 Thy name shall glitter as the purest ore ;  
 In distant ages shall the leaves be read  
 Where Britons conquered, and Boscawen led."  
 Low bowed the hero o'er the chalky strand :  
 " Why has thou, Goddess, chose me from the band ?  
 Others have strove their country's love to gain  
 And raise her Empire o'er the land and main ;  
 Amherst is bold and prudent, great in war ;  
 Brave Wolfe, Whitmore and Lawrence dread no scar.  
 Hardy is val'rous, Laforey is brave,  
 Intrepid Balfour seeks a hero's grave."  
 " Dear gallant man," she with a smile returned,  
 " Strong in their hearts the noble fire has burned ;  
 With laurels crowned, in robes of glory drest,  
 Amherst pours raptures in fair Albion's breast.  
 Their names shall bright in Clio's volumes run,  
 Thine visit ev'ry clime beneath the sun."

The House of Commons, satisfied that England had generals and admirals capable of executing her Imperial projects, voted nearly £13,000,000 sterling for the services of the coming year ; and when Admiral Boscawen took his seat in the House, the Speaker addressed him as follows :—

" ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN,—

" The House have unanimously resolved that their thanks should be given to you for the services you have done your King and country in North America, and it is my duty to convey their thanks to you.

" I wish I could do it in a manner suitable to the occasion, and as they ought to be given to you, now standing in your place as a member of this House. But were I able to enumerate and set forth in the best manner the great and extensive advantages accruing to this nation from the conquest of Louisburg, with the

Islands of Cape Breton and St. John, I could only exhibit a repetition of what has already been, and is, the genuine and uniform sense and language of every part of the Kingdom.

“ Their joy, too, has been equal to their sentiments upon this interesting event, and in their sentiments and joy they have carried their gratitude also to you, sir, as a principal instrument in these most important acquisitions. You are now, therefore, receiving the acknowledgments of the people, only in a more solemn way—by the voice, the general voice, of their representatives in Parliament, the most honourable fame that any man can arrive at in this or in any other country. It is on these occasions a national honour, from a free people, ever cautiously to be conferred, in order to be more esteemed to be the greater reward, and which ought to be reserved for the most signal services to the State and the most approved merit in them, such as this House has usually and very lately made their object of public thanks.

“ The use I am persuaded you will make of this just testimony and high reward of your services and merit will be the preserving in your own mind a lasting impression of what the Commons of Great Britain are now tendering to you, and in a constant continuance of the zeal and ardour for the glory of your King and country, which have made you deserve it.

“ In obedience to the command of the House, I do, with great pleasure to myself, give you the thanks of the House for the services you have done to your King and country in North America.”

At the conclusion of this flattering address, Admiral Boscawen expressed his appreciation of the honour done him as follows:—

“ MR. SPEAKER,—

“ I am happy in having been able to do my duty, but

have not words to express my sense of the distinguished rewards that have been conferred upon me by this House. Nor can I enough thank you, sir, for the polite and elegant manner in which you have been pleased to convey to me the resolution of the House."

The Speaker also despatched the thanks of the House to General Amherst in America; and Wolfe, the popular hero of Louisburg, was rewarded with the command of a grand army for the seizure of Quebec.



## CHAPTER X.

THE following poems, collected from the newspapers of the period, further indicate, in a poetic manner, the exultation of the nation over the capture of Louisburg :—

### THE REDUCTION OF LOUISBURG.

(Written on board the *Orford*, man-of-war, in Louisburg Harbour, by Valentine Neville.)

“ Long, full of vain security and pride,  
Had Louisburg the British arms defied ;  
The town, that bears the mighty monarch's name,  
Made fleets and armies equally her game,  
Till Heav'n vouchsafed Boscawen's wished for sails,  
And filled their canvas with propitious gales.  
In whose expanded wings, protecting shade,  
Th' exulting transports their approaches made,  
And poured with ardour on the Gallic strand  
The troops, nor art, nor nature could withstand.  
In vain the surf in raging eddies rolled,  
Assailed the bosoms of the brave and bold,  
Scared and astonished at our sons of fire,  
The sea rolls backwards and the waves retire.  
Tho' some are swallowed by the cruel deep,  
Whom Amphitrite shall for ever weep,  
To see them by her rebel waves o'erthrown  
Before great Mars could make their merit known ;  
Lamented shades, whose honours still shall boom,  
Tho' fate denies the records of a tomb.

In vain afresh the rocks oppose their way,  
 And strive to scatter horror and dismay,  
 With more than eagle's wings they spring on high,  
 And scale the rocks, whose tops invade the sky,  
 Then in an instant dart upon the foe."

---

## THE TAKING OF LOUISBURG.

BY THE REV. MR. PULLEIN.

"Hail, Western World! begin thy better fate,  
 Hence let thy annals take a happier date;  
 Happier when Columbus reached thy climes,  
 And gave thee Europe's art and Europe's crimes.  
 How small the gain, in all that Art can boast,  
 Or Science teach, when liberty is lost;  
 When tyrant laws the human frame control,  
 And superstition cramps the reasoning soul.  
 At length thy future fame on one great year  
 Is fixed; behold thy genial gods appear!  
 George, feared in arms, beloved for gentle sway,  
 And Pitt, the vestal guard of Freedom's ray;  
 Prompt to consummate Heav'n's supreme decree,  
 They give the mandate, and thy realms are free.  
 No more thy sons, by Gallia's sceptre awed,  
 Shall serve her priests and learn her arts of fraud;  
 No more shall discord fierce thy regions stain;  
 And view thy children by thy children slain;  
 Those isles where late the tyrant's restless hands,  
 Forged chains and shackles for thy trembling lands,  
 By Briton won, to nobler arts give place,  
 And forge the arms of Commerce, and of Peace.  
 And Liberty there lends thy sons her aid,  
 Where lately mourned the long-imprisoned maid.  
 Thus dread enchanters of romantic name,  
 In castle dark immure some royal dame,

Secured with magic bolts and circling mounds,  
 Where watchful wizards take their midnight rounds,  
 Till the predestined hero, sent by Fate,  
 With sword high-charmed, assails the iron gate ;  
 The bolts recoil, the grating hinges roar,  
 The bars fly shattered from the bursting door ;  
 Obstructing mounds in crumbled ruins lie,  
 And the fair captive meets her champion's eye.  
 Thus, Liberty, releas'd by hero's hands,  
 From Briton's cape surveys Hesperian lands,  
 Then springs aloft, divides th' yielding air,  
 And spreads her pinions o'er the western sphere ;  
 Her form divine revives the fainting earth,  
 And gives the new-known worlds a second birth,  
 So changed, so tempered, by her powerful name,  
 That he who found them loses half his fame ;  
 For when the fated ages shall have run,  
 And shown new Empires to the setting sun,  
 Each rising era shall its date restrain,  
 To Pitt, and Liberty, and George's reign."

---

### A TRUE STORY.

" Now long a captive on the hostile coast,  
 Unknown, unransomed, to his parents lost,  
 A youth in Louisburg's proud walls confined  
 Had poured in vain his sorrows to the wind.  
 At length with conquest freedom crowns her friends ;  
 The Gaul submits, and slavery's empire ends.  
 On those proud walls Britannia's standards fly,  
 And ' George,' and ' Pitt,' and ' Amherst ' rend the sky.  
 But O ! what pain, what transport, what surprise,  
 What blended passions in his bosom rise ;  
 When now, released by their victorious hands,  
 While traversing the trenches of the bands

He asked what leaders of experience tried  
 Directed those approaches; they replied,  
 'Amherst commands the troops; the Engineers'  
 Bastide.'  
 'My sire,' he cried. He could not more with joy  
 Entranced, o'erpowered. And soon his favourite boy  
 The father saw; that son so long deplored,  
 To life, to freedom, and to him restored.  
 Such pain, such joy, what words, what tints can paint?  
 The strongest words are weak, the liveliest tints are  
 faint;  
 Yet tho' such scenes transcend the power of art,  
 Nature will grave them deep in every feeling heart."

. . . . .

The Cape Breton *coup de main* also inspired numerous comments in prose. One of the most celebrated of these was the following satirical forecast of the different representations of the fall of Louisburg which British and French authors would probably compose in the nineteenth century, by Dr. Johnson, in the *Idler*:—

"Amidst the joy of my countrymen for the acquisition of Louisburg, I could not forbear to consider how differently the revolution of American power is, not only now mentioned by the contending nations, but will be represented by writers of another century.

"The English historian will imagine himself barely doing justice to English virtue when he relates the capture of Louisburg in the following manner:—

"The English had hitherto seen with great indignation their attempts baffled and their force defied by an enemy whom they considered themselves as entitled to conquer by right of prescription, and whom many ages of hereditary superiority had taught them to despise. Their fleets were more numerous and

their seamen braver than those of France, yet they only floated useless on the ocean, and the French derided them from their ports. Misfortunes, as is usual, produced discontent, the people murmured at the Ministers, and the Ministers censured the commanders. In the summer of this year the English began to find their successes answerable to their cause. A fleet and an army were sent to America to dislodge the enemies from the settlements which they had so perfidiously made and so insolently maintained, and to repress that power which was growing more every day by the association of the Indians, with whom these degenerate Europeans intermarried, and whom they secured to their party by presents and promises.

“‘In the beginning of June the ships of war and vessels containing the land forces appeared before Louisburg, a place so secure by Nature that Art was almost superfluous, and so fortified by Art as if Nature had left it opened. The French boasted that it was impregnable, and spoke with scorn of all attempts that could be made against it. The garrison was numerous, the stores equal to the longest siege, and their engineers and commanders high in reputation. The mouth of the harbour was so narrow that three ships within might easily defend it against all attacks from the sea. The French had, with that caution which cowards borrow from fear and attribute to policy, eluded our fleets, and sent into that port five great ships and six smaller, of which they sunk four in the mouth of the passage, having raised batteries and posted troops at all the places where they thought it possible to make a descent.

“‘The English, however, had more to dread from the roughness of the sea than from the shell or bravery of the defendants. Some days passed before the surges, which rise very high around that island, would suffer them to land. At last their impatience could be restrained no longer; they got possession of

the shore with little loss by the sea, and with less by the enemy. In a few days the artillery was landed, the batteries were raised, and the French had no other hope than to escape from one post to another. A shot from the batteries fired the powder in one of their largest ships, the flames spread to the two next, and all three were destroyed; the English admiral sent his boats against the two large ships yet remaining, took them without resistance, and terrified the garrison into an immediate capitulation.'

"Let us now oppose to this English narrative the relation which will be produced about the same time by the writer of the age of Louis XV.:—

"About this time the English admitted to the conduct of affairs a man who undertook to save from destruction that ferocious and turbulent people, who from the mean insolence of wealthy traders and the lawless confidence of successful robbers, were now sunk in despair and stupefied with horror. He called in the ships which had been dispersed over the ocean to guard their merchants, and sent a fleet and an army, in which almost the whole strength of England was comprised, to secure their possessions in America, which were endangered alike by the French arms and the French virtue. We had taken the English fortresses by force and gained the Indian nations by humanity. The English, wherever they come, are sure to have the natives for their enemies, for the only motive of their settlements is avarice, and the only consequence of their success is oppression. In this way they acted like other barbarians, and with a degree of outrageous cruelty which the gentleness of our manners scarce suffers us to conceive, offered rewards by open proclamation to those who should bring in the scalps of Indian women and children.

"A trader always makes war with the cruelty of a pirate. They had long looked with envy and with terror upon the influences which the French exerted



over all the northern regions of America by the possession of Louisburg, a place naturally strong, and new fortified with some slight outwork. They hoped to surprise the garrison unprovided; but that sluggishness which always defeats their malice, gave us time to send supplies and station ships for the defence of the harbour.

“ ‘ They came before Louisburg in June, and were for some time in doubt whether they should land. But the commanders, who had lately seen an admiral beheaded for not having done what he had not power to do, durst not leave the place unassaulted.

“ ‘ An Englishman has no ardour for honour, no zeal for duty; he neither values glory nor loves his King, but balances one danger with another, and will fight rather than be hanged.

“ ‘ They therefore landed, but with great loss; their engineers had in the last war with the French learned something of the military sciences, and made their approaches with sufficient skill, but all their efforts had been without effect had not a ball unfortunately fallen into the powder of one of our ships, which communicated the fire to the rest, and by opening the passage of the harbour, obliged the garrison to capitulate.

“ ‘ Thus was Louisburg lost, and our troops marched out with the admiration of their enemies, who durst hardly think themselves masters of the place.’ ”

The plaudits of Britain were enthusiastically echoed by her European armies, which fired joyous salutes in honour of the fall of the key of Canada.

In Nova Scotia bells rang and bonfires blazed. The batteries of Halifax pealed with salutes, and her churches resounded with thanksgivings to heaven. The arrival of part of the triumphant fleet and army increased the enthusiasm of the capital. The overflowing streets were crowded with tents, the din of shipping filled the harbour, the taverns were crowded to

excess; fully 60,000 gallons of rum, exclusive of the quantity retailed by smugglers and illicit dealers, were ardently consumed; and the New Government House was opened by Lawrence with a grand ball, at which Wolfe drank, danced, and sang.

Annapolis, the old, war-scarred capital, celebrated the event with equal enthusiasm, and fired repeated salutes in honour of the fall of the terror of Acadia. Caps flew in the air, the town and neighbouring woods rang with cheers, and at midnight the glare of joyous bonfires reddened the waters of the Bay of Fundy.

The delight of Nova Scotia was, however, clouded by a French plot to destroy Halifax, an incident which taught the people that France was still dangerous. This scarcely frustrated attempt to destroy the capital of Nova Scotia after the fall of Louisburg appears to have escaped the notice of Nova Scotian historians. Details of the conspiracy are meagre, but one account, dated Halifax, August 19th, 1758, states that "A captain's waiting man, who frequented a house in Dutch Town, on account of a young woman, followed her down the cellar, and there discovered a parcel of firearms, loaded and primed, which he made known to the captain. Thereupon, search being made, they were found, and carried before the Governor; and, on inquiry being made, it appears that there was a plot between some disaffected persons and the French and Indians to fall suddenly upon Halifax and destroy it while our men-of-war were at Louisburg. We are this night to be all under arms, though, as the designs are frustrated, we are in hope they will return back to the woods, and that we shall not be disturbed by them.

"Several men-of-war from Louisburg are now in sight of the harbour."

Subsequent investigations into this affair exonerated the Dutch, who had been suspected, from any share in the plot. The actual conspirators do not appear to have been discovered.

As might have been expected, New England heartily participated in the exultation, which recalled the first capture of Louisburg by her poorly equipped forces, to the admiration of the world, especially as "New England" troops had also distinguished themselves at the second event, and 9,000 Colonials had helped to isolate Louisburg by following the imperial standards raised against Montcalm.

The second fall of the city was celebrated by the smaller towns with bell-rings, illuminations, feasts, thanksgiving services, and the discharge of ancient pieces of artillery, which as at Hebron, Connecticut, sometimes exploded in the midst of the celebrators. Hebron, although not so well furnished as the larger towns, was as ambitious to display its loyalty as they were; and accordingly, says the chronicler, by illuminations and bonfires the inhabitants gave many notable proofs of their patriotic joy, regretting, however, their inability to express their delight with greater solemnity and pomp.

"Till, pointed by some deep inventive head,  
To the next neighbouring well they ran, they flew  
Where deep embosom'd in the earth they found  
An ancient tube, of most enormous size,  
Long in domestic service. Thence upheaved,  
With all the strength the cooper's art could lend,  
Now meant for mighty deeds. Being soon begirt  
And, fortified by Vulcan's powerful aid,  
High mounted with due elevation shows,  
Some formidable engine, prompt to give  
Or tell the fate of nations. Pregnant soon  
With vast surcharge of blackest grain, first formed  
For dire destructive purpose—dreadful trade!  
Now awful silence reigns; and every eye  
Was fixed, and every ear, e'en Nature's pulse  
And breath stood still to listen. When soon the Heav'n's  
Deluged with fire and smoke; tremendous roar

Filled all the region round. Nor more th' ear,  
 Nor th' tormented air, nor earth could bear,  
 Nor that deep-throated engine, erst presumed  
 Impregnable, such mighty shock sustain,  
 But all to shivers rent, lay scattered o'er the plain.  
 Loud shouts succeed: Huzza! God save the King!  
 His glorious reign, let distant ages sing.  
 And Britain brave, and just in politics,  
 Blast the detested deep-laid plots and tricks  
 Of Old Bourbon, Old Fleury, and in them Old Nicks."

The demonstrations in the larger centres were conducted on a more elaborate scale. At Boston "a stately bonfire," built in the form of a pyramid, crowned Fort Hill, and made a "lofty and prodigious blaze"; and a day of public prayer and thanksgiving for the reduction of Cape Breton and St. John (Prince Edward Island) was set apart by order of his Excellency the Governor of Massachusetts Bay.

At New York an official dinner was given in the Province Arms, Broadway, at which toasts to the glory of the King's arms, the confusion of France, and the annexation of Cape Breton to the British Empire were enthusiastically drank to the accompaniment of salutes from Fort George. In the camp of the second army of England Abercrombie ordered the troops to thank God for the victory in a religious way; and through all the "Colonies," soon to be aflame with rebellion, the people vied with each other in celebrating the signal success of British arms at Louisburg. But it was at Philadelphia, later the home of the first Congress of the United States, that the fall of Louisburg was celebrated on the most elaborate scale. A floating castle, to represent England appearing before Louisburg, was erected on the River Delaware, opposite Philadelphia, which represented Louisburg. From the right of the castle rose a tower pierced by three tiers of guns, and bearing the inscriptions: "Boscawen" and "Amherst"; from the

left a tower bearing the inscriptions, "Hardy" and "Wolfe"; and from the centre a citadel supporting a majestic statue of "George Rex," a perpendicular wheel of fireworks, a similar representation of the sun, a triangular wheel, and a St. George's flag on a spire. The curtain bore the inscription, "Charles Frederick, King of Prussia," above two ten-gun tiers of guns; below them was the inscription, "General Lawrence"; and on the gate appeared the names of "Pitt and Whitmore," enclosed by fluted columns with a full entablature.

The tableau opened with a rocket from the castle, replied to by a cannon from the shore, and a salute of the statue of the King on the citadel with twenty-one guns and three cheers, while the bells rang "God Save the King." A second rocket was then fired from the castle, the flag of France was hoisted over Philadelphia, and a vigorous bombardment of the castle began. The castle as hotly bombarded Philadelphia, which offered a vigorous defence with cannon and shell, and defeated an attempt to carry it by storm by springing a mine. The engagement continued with great determination on both sides for some time; but, after sustaining a vigorous bombardment, the besieged at length surrendered, the French colours were lowered, and the flag of England again floated over the city. The rejoicings over the capitulation then began. A swarm of rockets ascended from Tower Amherst on the floating castle; a *feu de joie* with rockets followed; a horizontal wheel of fireworks in the Whitmore gate of the castle and the perpendicular wheel on the citadel were lit and set in motion amid joyful strains of music; and a swarm of rockets burst from Tower Wolfe, followed by the lighting of the sun, and the triangular wheel on the citadel, and a brilliant *feu de joie* of rockets. A flaming Indian, equipped for war, then issued from Whitmore's gate, with the motto, "Britons Strike Home!" suspended from his mouth, amid the chiming of all the city bells and the spirited rendering of "Britons Strike Home"

by the bands. This was followed by a brilliant discharge of rockets, water-rockets, and a general discharge volley of cannon ; and the unique display concluded with three cheers from the immense number of spectators that thronged the water front.



## CHAPTER XI.

FRANCE received the intelligence of the fall of Louisburg with exasperation and dismay ; for the loss of the key to a colonial empire larger, she had boasted, than the empire of ancient Rome, was a terrible blow to her interests.

After the capture of Louisburg by New England in A.D. 1745, France had realised that she had established the key of Canada in an exposed position ; and, so greatly did she fear the fortress created by her genius that she despatched a great armada to recapture and dismantle it. The fate of this expedition off Sable Island, and the defeat of its successor off Finisterre, did not divert the princes of the House of Bourbon from the recovery of Louisburg ; but they sought to obtain by diplomacy what they could not recover by the sword. French diplomacy was more successful than French fleets and armies ; and, at the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, A.D. 1748, Cape Breton was restored to France amid the righteous anger of British-America. Instead of dismantling Louisburg, however, the French Ministry determined to strengthen it. Vast sums of money were expended on the forts ; strategic roads were constructed from the city to points through which reinforcements could be received ; military stores were accumulated, and the vulnerable points on the Gabarous coast were scientifically strengthened. Formidable fleets patrolled the tributary seas, or rode at anchor in the harbour ; and at the opening of A.D. 1758 Louisburg had become one of the strongest fortified cities in the world. This

powerful organisation of fleets, forts and outposts apparently assured to France that impregnable position at the gates of Canada on the North American trade routes which she coveted; and when the news of the second fall of the city reached Paris the Government was pained-stricken. The disaster was concealed from the public until the arrival of an English vessel at the Isle of Rhé with part of the inhabitants of Louisburg proclaimed it to the whole kingdom. The tidings created a great sensation, especially in naval, military, and commercial circles; and the policy of the Court, the defence of the city by Drucour, the failure to relieve Louisburg, and the conduct of the French admiral, were acrimoniously discussed. The cry that Cape Breton, upon which millions had been lavished and to regain which at the last peace Flanders and every conquest in Europe was relinquished, had been again lost rang through France.

The conduct of the Admiral appears to have been considered highly unsatisfactory by the Court of Versailles, and the unfortunate nobleman was degraded from his high rank (his patent of nobility being burned by the common hangman) and condemned to twenty-one years' imprisonment. De Gouttes did not, however, merit this harsh treatment. As noticed elsewhere, he energetically supported the Governor, and this is confirmed by "a gentleman on board the *Burford*, in Louisburg harbour," who wrote on the 28th of July, *i.e.* the day after the capitulation of Louisburg, that: "The French ships of war did much mischief, and retarded the siege greatly, keeping a constant and terrible fire on the British works."

It is true that De Gouttes warmly solicited Drucour's permission to leave Louisburg after the British landed at Gabarous; but it should be remembered that, owing to the vigilance of the British admirals on the coast of France, he had at his disposal only 14 ships, armed with 562 guns, a force quite incapable of issuing from Louisburg to engage 41 British ships armed with nearly 2,000

guns, and doomed to annihilation if it remained in port exposed to British land batteries. The fate of a French fleet shut up in Louisburg harbour, under such circumstances, was accurately predicted by a veteran of the first siege to Pitt. "If," said Brigadier Waldo, "there should be any French ships of war in the north-west harbour of Louisburg, a battery may be made in a very commodious situation for annoying, if not entirely destroying, them. Should not this battery be effectual to the destruction of all the ships that may anchor in the north-west harbour (the British forces being masters of the field), other convenient places may be found for erecting batteries for this purpose."

The Marquis de Gouttes understood this as well as Brigadier Waldo, and from this point of view his anxiety to leave Louisburg was not the desire of a pusillanimous commander to elude his responsibilities, but naval foresight similar to that of M. de Chaffaut, commander of the French squadron which stole into Louisburg on the eve of the siege. M. de Chaffaut, foreseeing the fate of Louisburg, hastened out of the port, and left some ships to help to defend the place only with great reluctance.

This, however, was not the view taken of the affair by the humiliated Court of Versailles; but it seems probable that the real explanation of the severe treatment of De Gouttes was that the Court selected him as the scapegoat for the disaster.

Montcalm's defeat of the British at Ticonderoga, of which the Ministry made as much as possible, allayed the public dissatisfaction to a slight extent; but the Government, thoroughly dismayed by the loss of Louisburg, endeavoured to rouse Europe against England by issuing the following circular to the Powers:—

"We have advice that Louisburg was delivered up to the English by capitulation on the 26th of July last. We are sensible of all the consequences

of so fatal an event; but we will redouble our efforts and diligence to repair this misfortune. All trading nations ought to open their eyes to their most essential interests, and unite their forces with ours to prevent the absolute despotism which England will exercise on all seas if a stop be not immediately put to her ambition and avarice. The cry of almost all the Powers of Europe against France has for a century past been to maintain the balance of power upon the Continent; but while the English were showing this phantom to impose upon the credulity of the public, they were incessantly labouring (and have unhappily but too well succeeded) in destroying the balance of power upon the sea, without which, however, that upon the land cannot subsist. This is a thing to which other nations ought to give the most serious attention, as it threatens no less than the entire destruction of their navigation and the usurpation of all commerce by the English."

Further evidence of the alarm of the French Ministers appeared in their panicky despatch of a fast sailing vessel to Quebec (captured, however, by the British) with letters to the Governor, directing him to demolish the fortifications and retire with the garrison if the British attempted to invest the city with any force; also in the extraordinary efforts they made to raise funds for military purposes. An "extraordinary free gift," calculated to produce 21,000,000 livres, was demanded with threats from the cities and boroughs within the jurisdiction of the Parliament of Paris alone. Even the clergy and religious houses were obliged to pay the taxes imposed to raise this subsidy, hospitals and infirmaries alone exempted; and the tax-ridden kingdom began to fear, not only that the fall of Louisburg would ruin its foreign trade, but that it would bleed her to inanition. Economies were also instituted

in the public services, and even the royal household did not escape rigid retrenchments, for the expensive allowances of sugar, coffee, chocolate, wines, etc., to the ladies of the household and their attendants were reduced to the bare necessities of these articles. The loss of Cape Breton thus affected even the French King's household, and in the decreasing comforts of the Palace of Versailles France realised, more impressively perhaps than by the increase of her fiscal burdens, the disastrous consequences of the loss of Louisburg.

As France had foreseen, England immediately turned the armament of Louisburg against Canada. Military expeditions from the port ravaged Miramichi, Bay Chaleur, Gaspé, and other French towns, utterly destroying their vast storehouses of fish, provisions, and merchandise. British warships, using the port as a base, infested the trade routes to France, seized French merchantmen, lay in wait for French line-of-battle ships, and alarmed Quebec by hostile demonstrations in the river similar to those made in the Thames by the Dutch ninety-one years earlier.

Fearing for her safety, Quebec appealed to France for help. The French Government responded, and 20 transports, convoyed by 3 frigates laden with stores and some troops, set sail for the capital of Canada. These ships ran past a British fleet stationed sixty miles below Quebec, and all except three, carrying 120 recruits and 1,800 barrels of gunpowder, which were captured and sent into Louisburg, reached Quebec. Five more ships, laden with large quantities of military stores, also eluded the British, and reached Quebec with tidings of the impending siege. Quebec summoned the Canadians to her defence. The call to arms was promptly answered by the bold habitants of the parishes; and five battalions of regular troops, some of the Colony troops, and militia from every part of Canada poured into the capital.



The preparations for this, the most celebrated siege of Quebec, form a dramatic setting for the abrupt disappearance of the capital of Ile Royale from the theatre of the world's affairs.

After May 18th, 1759, the land and sea forces detailed for Quebec began to assemble at Louisburg, and for more than a fortnight her arsenals rang with the din of artificers, the crowded port with the cries of multitudes of seamen, the overflowing barracks, guard-houses, and canteens with the patriotic songs, the dance-houses with the boisterous laughter, and the streets with the unceasing bustle of the intrepid soldiers and sailors who had revived the prestige of British arms. Trains of wagons, laden with fodder and provisions, pouring into the city along the Mira and St. Peter's roads blocked the streets, and the wharves groaned under the accumulating necessities of the army. Despatch boats came and went, day and night; frigates, convoying captured French transports, entered the harbour amid prolonged cheers from the walls; line-of-battle ships from Spithead and Halifax floated gracefully through the Narrows into the hospitable port, and such great quantities of tonnage thronged the harbour that it resembled, from afar, a forest of masts rising out of the sea.

The life of the city during this bustling period was essentially military, but the naval element preserved it from the monotony of an armed camp, and the picturesque mingling of soldiers, sailors, and marines with New England fishermen, quaintly attired Halifax or Boston traders, and a motley crowd of camp followers, restored the old street scenes of the first British *régime*.

Wolfe, the master mind of these energetic preparations for war, was the centre of the life of the city. His eye was everywhere. Conscious that the gaze of Europe was fixed upon him, his vigilance extended to the humblest part of the engine of war he was creating. Generals, admirals, and commanders, famed on European battlefields, or in the stirring naval combats of the



period, frequented his headquarters; and engineers, despatch bearers, aides-de-camp, St. Lawrence pilots, New York, Boston, and Halifax merchants, skippers of the cumbrous transports, chiefs of the commissariat, and private soldiers executed his commands or awaited his decisions. The troops were regularly manœuvred on the rough ground outside the wall, or in the neighbouring woods, to accustom them to the class of warfare they were likely to encounter. The recruits and young soldiers were trained both in the morning and in the evening. Their ear was accustomed to the signal of the trumpet, their step to the evolutions of an army, and every military exercise that could add to the vigour of the troops was the object of the bold soldier who aspired to add Quebec to the laurels of Louisburg.

The order of the day, announcing the formation of the "Louisburg Grenadiers," was greeted by an outburst of enthusiasm from the army; and Wolfe's selection of this gallant corps (at whose head he was destined to fall on the Plains), from the 22nd, 40th, and 45th Regiments, as a compliment to their gallant conduct at the late siege of Louisburg, elicited the approval while it inspired the envy of the less fortunate regiments. The bells of the city chimed pompously while the "Grenadiers" received their colours from Wolfe on the Esplanade, where the humiliated standards of France had been lately deposited; the guard-rooms rang with patriotic toasts to Wolfe, the army, and the "Louisburg Grenadiers"; and the churches echoed with prayers for the success of the British arms before the capital of Canada.

At last all was ready, and a long, loud blast of trumpets sounded the signal for departure. The grand army was instantly in motion, and the city and its environs presented a gay and animated spectacle as the 15th, 43rd, 48th, 78th, 28th, 47th, the 2nd and 3rd battalions of the 60th, the 35th and 58th Regiments, the grenadiers of the above ten regiments, the grenadiers of the 22nd, 40th, and 45th Regiments, light infantry from the regi-

ments of the line, and the Rangers marched to the point of embarkation, proudly displaying their standards. The commanders of the various divisions repaired to their respective ships; a cannon on the flagship announced that the moment of departure had come, and, weighing anchor, the fleet sailed for Quebec amid salutes from the batteries, enthusiastic shouts from the walls, and the inspiring strains of military music.

Although some loose ice was still floating about the harbour, the ships worked through it, and on June 6th the

		GUNS	
<i>Neptune</i>	.	90	Ad. Saunders, Capt. Hartwell.
<i>Dublin</i>	.	74	Ad. Holmes.
<i>Royal William</i>	.	84	Capt. Piggot.
<i>Terrible</i>	.	74	„ Collins.
<i>Vanguard</i>	.	70	„ Swanton.
<i>Captain</i>	.	64	„ Amherst.
<i>Shrewsbury</i>	.	74	„ Palliser.
<i>Devonshire</i>	.	66	„ Gordon.
<i>Bedford</i>	.	64	„ Fowkes.
<i>Alcide</i>	.	64	„ Douglass.
<i>Somerset</i>	.	70	„ Hughes.
<i>Prince Frederic</i>	.	64	„ Booth.
<i>Pembroke</i>	.	60	„ Wheelock.
<i>Medway</i>	.	60	„ Proby.
<i>Prince of Orange</i>	.	60	„ Wallis.
<i>Northumberland</i>	.	70	„ Lord Colville.
<i>Orford</i>	.	70	„ Spry.
<i>Sterling Castle</i>	.	64	„ Everett.
<i>Centurion</i>	.	50	„ Mantell.
<i>Trident</i>	.	54	„ Legge.
<i>Sutherland</i>	.	50	„ Rouse.
The Frigates :			
<i>Diana</i>	.	36	Capt. Schomberg.
<i>Leostoffe</i>	.	28	„ Deane.
<i>Trente</i>	.	28	„ Lindsay.
<i>Richmond</i>	.	32	„ Handkerson.
<i>Echo</i>	.	32	„ Laforev.

## The Sloops :—

<i>Seahorse</i>	.	.	20	Capt. Smith.
<i>Eurus</i>	.	.	22	„ Elphinstone.
<i>Nightingale</i>	.	.	20	„ Campbell.
<i>Hind</i>	.	.	20	„ Bond.
<i>Squirrel</i>	.	.	20	„ Hamilton.
<i>Scarborough</i>	.	.	20	„ Stott.
<i>Lizard</i>	.	.	28	„ Doak.
<i>Scorpion</i>	.	.	14	„ Cleland.
<i>Zephir</i>	.	.	12	„ Greenwood.
<i>Hunter</i>	.	.	10	„ Adams.
<i>Porcupine</i>	.	.	14	„ Jarvis.
<i>Baltimore</i>	.	.	10	„ Carpenter.
<i>Cormorant</i>	.	.	8	„
<i>Pelican</i>	.	.	8	„ Montfort.
<i>Racehorse</i>	.	.	8	„ Rickards.
<i>Bonetta</i>	.	.	8	„
<i>Vesuvius</i>	.	.	—	„ Chads.
<i>Strombolo</i>	.	.	—	„ Smith.
<i>Rodney</i> (cutter)	.	.	2	„ Douglass.

the *Charming Molly*, *Europa*, *Lawrence*, *Peggy* and *Sarah*, *Good Intent*, *Prosperity*, and an immense fleet of transports, store ships, victuallers, traders, and other attendants, cleared Lighthouse Point amid loud hurrahs and the enthusiastic drinking of the toasts, “British colours on every French fort, port, and garrison in America”—the *Richmond* bearing Wolfe to glory and the grave!

## CHAPTER XII.

THE leaguer of Quebec was the logical sequel of the fall of Louisburg. Relieved from the hazard of invading Canada with this important fortress hostile in his rear, Wolfe invested the capital with a deliberation possible only under such circumstances.

The arms of England, sometimes vanquished in battle, but usually victorious in war, triumphed at the moment when failure seemed inevitable, and 104 days after the fleet left Louisburg the flag of England was unfurled upon the Castle of St. Louis; but the death of Wolfe on the Plains, with the victorious shouts of the Louisburg Grenadiers ringing in his ears, cast a gloom over the key of Canada, and the flag his daring had helped to raise over the city was lowered to half-mast in tribute to his memory. This tribute of respect being paid to the slain general, the city was brilliantly illuminated, and for the last time in her history Louisburg celebrated a triumph. The bells pealed loudly; salutes roared from the Batterie de la Grève; bonfires blazed on the Green Hills, Lighthouse Point, Point Rochefort, and in the city itself; and the churches resounded with the anthems of thanksgiving services. After rendering thanks to Providence in a religious manner, the Governor gave a state dinner, at which the fall of the capital of Canada was celebrated in loyal toasts; and the hero who had writ its name with "Louisburg" large on the escutcheons of the Empire, was suitably eulogised. The garrison passed the night in similar indulgences, and in sincere panegyrics of

the slain general. The cabarets, barracks, and guard-houses rang with their joyous shouts, and noisy processions paraded the streets cheering the generals, the admirals, the regiments, and the fleet which had reduced the capital of all the Canadas. The citizens shared the enthusiasm of the troops, and contributed liberally to their means of enjoyment. The belfries of the city, occupied by the younger townsfolk, resounded with louder peals; the windows blazed with candles and lanterns; rockets burst in showers over the city; bugles pealed, horns blew, cannon boomed, and cheers rang round the walls.

. . . . .

The sentiments of the citizens and soldiers might have been less joyful if they had known that the cheers of the British at the gates of Quebec sounded the death knell of Louisburg. This was the case, for in wresting Quebec from France, Wolfe left Louisburg useless to England; and the imperial treasury, drained by wars in two hemispheres, could not afford to expend £100,000 sterling per annum upon the maintenance of the Cape Breton forts for sentimental reasons.

The fear that France might recover Cape Breton by some change in the fortunes of war and menace a British Quebec also weighed with England. Pitt therefore adopted the policy of the Court of Versailles in A.D. 1746, and pronounced against the forts which had delayed the progress of England's imperial policy an irrevocable sentence of doom. The order to raze the fortifications was signed in London about February 9th, 1760; and on May 25th-26th H.M.S. *Fame*, *Achilles*, and *Dorsetshire* beat into the harbour with the skilled miners despatched by Pitt to destroy the forts of Louisburg.

The lofty walls were stripped of the 230 guns that loomed in their deep embrasures, and a fleet of vessels transported the accumulated munitions of war to the dominant city of Halifax.

By the incessant labour of the troops mines of various devices were carried under the bastions, explosives were thrust under the curtain or deposited in the ramparts, and precautions were taken to prevent the destruction of the city in the dismemberment of its walls. The night before the mines were exploded Governor Whitemore made a last circuit of the ramparts, accompanied by an aide-de-camp. The scene and the impending event were well calculated to inspire melancholy in a soldier's mind. Before him lay the city that had so long echoed in the world's debate, bathed in the tranquil light of a summer moon. Athwart the plain, furrowed with the shrunken trenches of the first army of England, lay long, motionless shadows of the citadel, ramparts, and bastions. Around the dark wall sparkled the broad moat, the massive drawbridge casting a deep shadow on its shining surface. Shadows lurked in the West Gate and about the streets. A solitary light gleamed in a casement of the Hospital of St. Jean de Dieu; and the tread of sentries, upon whose bayonets the moon sparkled, echoed in the batteries. The enfeebled beams of the lighthouse flickered in a misty halo on the opposite land. Ships lay darkly motionless in the port, and the moon glistened dully on the guns of the *Fame* as she lay near Battery Island with a flickering light at her gangway. The languid swell of the restless ocean broke noiselessly over the tomb of the *Apollon*, the *Fidèle*, the *Chèvre*, the *Biche*, and the *Diane*; and a fishing-boat, gliding seaward, rocked in the scarcely perceptible swell of the tragic shoal as her hardy crew turned to gaze at Louisburg. Afar on the Atlantic a sail hung in the shimmering wake of the moon, and vanished on the rim of the horizon. Gabarous Bay, shorn of the magnificent fleet that had reeled among its angry billows, sparkled between its dusky shores and headlands. The seas where Hardy's squadron had cruised for weeks off the harbour, and over which the *Comète*, *Bizarre*, and *Aréthuse* had fled from the doomed



city, lay deserted, save by the fishing-boat that fast sped seaward. The shores of the north-east harbour, destined to be the site of a new Louisburg, still lay encumbered with the blackened ruins of the buildings burned by order of Drucour, and a mournful and solitary silence prevailed over all the surrounding country.

On this scene the last Governor of Louisburg gazed as he made his final circuit of the walls ; and as his eyes wandered over it, let us hope he remembered that the blood of the gallant race which had built and lost Louisburg enriched the veins of the English, and realised that in the new Canada then rising upon the ruins of the old the French would exert the beneficent influences which their stock had wielded in England since the Conquest.

. . . . .

To describe the destruction of the key of Canada, and fill these pages with the echoes of the exploding mines that piled the fortifications of Cape Breton's royal city in accumulated ruin upon the Gabarous peninsula, is not the purpose of this memoir.

The destruction of the forts began at sunrise, and the roar of exploding mines reverberated along the coasts and among the hills of Cape Breton. Black clouds of smoke suspended over the city, often veiling her in dense gloom, and fragments of her falling towers plunged into the waters of the port. The labours of the troops continued without intermission for about four and a half months. The citadel, before which the standards of many regiments had been proudly displayed, was laid in utter ruins ; the walls were totally overthrown ; the ditch was filled with *débris* ; and on October 17th, A.D. 1760, the celebrated metropolis of Acadia, so advantageously situated for trade and the prosecution of a maritime war, became an unwallcd city.

## CHAPTER XIII.

THE subsequent decadence of Louisburg was rapid, although it maintained a semblance of its former importance until the withdrawal of the garrison of 300 men of the 50th Regiment in 1768, on the eve of the revolt of the "Thirteen Colonies," when the exodus of the traders who lived on their disbursements again reduced the population.

There were then 142 houses still standing, of which 13 were in good repair, 60 in tolerable repair, 60 in bad repair (the windows, floors, and partitions having been taken away), and 3 in ruins. Nineteen of these houses, including the hospital, the Governor's residence, the houses of the Intendant and judges, the victualling office, bakehouses, stables, barracks, and the gaol, were built of stone. The rest were constructed of wood. On the 10th of August, 1768, only 26 houses were occupied.

. . . . .

Although Cape Breton was visited by American and French warships during the Revolutionary war, Louisburg was not molested; but about October 28th, 1784, one of the streams of American "Loyalists," who desired to continue within the pale of the British Empire, that flowed into Canada, was attracted to the city by the fame of its former greatness. They were met there by Abraham Cuyler, an ex-Mayor of Albany; and, landing on the decaying wharves, they gazed in dismay at the ruinous dwellings among which they were obliged to seek shelter from the autumnal weather.

Of all the dramatic events that transpired on the peninsula of Gabarous, none is more pathetic than the spectacle of this little band of Loyalists huddled under the decayed roofs of Louisburg—the expatriated English seeking shelter in the homes of the banished French, upon whose deserted hearthstones their utmost efforts could hardly kindle feeble fires!

The autumnal rain poured through the broken roofs, drenching them to the skin; chill sea breezes shrilly whistled through the unshuttered casements, and moaned sadly through the deserted streets; and the weather-stained sign-board of some deserted tavern creaked noisily in the darkness. Strange noises echoed in the empty city, and the roar of the ocean on Battery Island rose and fell in a melancholy cadence that saddened their hearts.

The ex-Mayor of Albany, to whom they looked for direction and counsel, did all in his power for their comfort; but the houses were in such bad repair that he was obliged to send a vessel to Mira for timber to repair them. Unfortunately she foundered at sea in a snow-storm; and, after struggling through a wretched winter, most of the Loyalists removed to Sydney, the new capital of Cape Breton, carrying there, as others did to Morien and other places, their patriotism, culture, piety, and love of learning.

The transfer of the seat of Government to Sydney, in A.D. 1785, gave the final blow to Louisburg, and the city slowly vanished under the hand of man, or the more merciful hand of time. The material of the houses, etc., was gradually carried away to various parts of the coast for re-erection into dwellings; and even the citizens of Halifax ravished the historic edifices of their fallen rival to procure dressed stone for their own buildings.

Fascinated by the brief but dramatic career of

Louisburg, and curious to stand on the site of a city whose name once echoed so loud in the world's debate, thousands have since visited Louisburg and paid a silent tribute of respect to her former greatness; and to some of these pilgrims the world is indebted for the following interesting pen-pictures of her ruins:—

“The ancient walls display, even yet, the most attractive object to the eye, the contour of the ruined mounds being boldly marked against the sky on the left on entering the harbour. The area of the city is everywhere covered with a mantle of turf; and, without the assistance of the natives, it is not easy to discover the foundations even of the public buildings. Two or three casemates yet invite inspection. These caverns, originally the safeguard of powder and other combustible munitions of war, now serve to shelter the flocks of sheep that feed upon the ruins. All is silent, except the loud reverberation of the ocean as it rolls its tremendous surges along the rocky beach, or the bleating of the scattered sheep, as with tinkling bells they return in the dusky solitude of eve to their singular folds. The prospect from the dilapidated ramparts is most impressive. Looking over the former city, the eye wanders upon the interminable ocean, its blue rolling waves occupying three-fourths of the scene. The harbour appears dwindled to a miniature of itself, being seen in the same picture as the mighty ocean. The character of the whole scene is melancholy, presenting the memorials of former life and population, contrasted with its present apparent isolation from the natives of the earth. The impression is not weakened by the sight of the few small houses along the shore of the port, and the little fishing vessels, scarcely perceptible in the mountain swell of the ocean, which painfully recall the images of the elegant edifices that once graced the foreground and the proud flags that waved on that heaving deep. This solitude was once “the Dunkirk of America”; the vaulted caverns, where the sheep find

shelter from the rain, were casemates, where terrified women sought refuge from storms of shot and shell; and the shapeless green mounds were citadel, bastion, ramparts and glacis. . . . Here stood Louisburg; and not all the efforts of its conquerors, or all the havoc of succeeding time, have availed to efface it. Men in hundreds toiled for months with lever, spade, and gunpowder in the work of destruction, and for more than a century it has served for a stone quarry; but the remains of its vast defences still tell their tale of human valour."

Writing at a later period (1904), a visitor described the ruins as follows:—

"All that remains of the imposing fortress is a few arches of crumbling masonry, a few grass-grown ditches, a few old wells, and a wide, barren waste. The salt sea breeze moans across the wild morass, where a century and a half ago cannon roared and swords clashed as the French took their last stand against the British. Here and there, in place of the old walled town, a fisherman's home stands, white-washed against the green; here and there, tumbling and decayed, a cod-salting shack sits blue-grey against the blue; here and there, idling in the sun or stiffening in the breeze, a hoisted sail flies, creamy-white against the white; and here and there, sullen in its abandonment, a tilted hull lies, dark brown against the brown. Over all, in the quietude of the hour, floats a mellow sing-song from a high-perched bird, and from the neighbouring pastures comes the tinkle of a cow bell.

"It is difficult to believe that this peaceful scene was once an angry battlefield and the fortified retreat of the terror of the Atlantic coast. But records have been left and relics preserved, and on the spot where the keys were handed over to General Pepperrell stands a marble monument to the first conquest and subjection of the place.

"Louisburg has already been stripped of its relics. For years there has been a digging and delving for buried treasure, until now the unsentimental fisherman has developed a remarkable appreciation of the value of a brass button or a blue-black wine-glass. An old French bowl, a platter, or a drinking mug that came through the siege is generally regarded as worth so many dollars and cents, and finally leaves the country in the possession of some collector of curios. Very few movable things that mark the French occupation can consequently be found in Louisburg; but the search for them still goes on at intervals. An old lady guards with jealous eyes a heavy shackle and a pair of huge iron hinges from the main door of the old fortress; and another woman preserves a dish, decorated in blue. When the herring catch is small and the cod refuse to bite, one or two fishermen about the Old Fort dig about in the hope of unearthing some article that will repay them for the failing of the seas. And so, say old residents, there is scarcely a foot of sod in the place that has not been upturned."



## CHAPTER XIV.

TO this has once mighty Louisburg fallen. Abandoned to the unsympathetic hands of man and the levelling hand of time, the celebrated city has totally disappeared. Of the thirty million livres, the fleets and human lives sacrificed there by France, and by Old and New England, nothing remains but some scarcely distinguishable ruins and shrunk tombs, a few fishermen's houses, or a crumbling casemate; and it may now be said of Old Louisburg, as of ancient Troy, that grass grows where she stood.

### LOUISBURG.

AUGUSTE PHANEUF, MONTREAL, 1895.

“Age-honoured mounds! (where once I laid me down)  
To breathe the salt, and dream of vanished town  
What graves ye make. Ye crossed chipped mural  
stones,  
Filched by old Time from storied parapet  
(Whereon we trace the punctuation yet).  
What monuments to mark chivalric bones?”

“There in that pasture 'neath the cropping herd,  
The patriot sheaves were huddled and interred;  
*In pace requiescat*—ye rest well!  
(Not so the memories with their thrill and throng)  
The leaden scythe that mowed ye down was strong  
And garnered ye together as ye fell!”

" Perhaps near this spot, if history might tell,  
 There paused at night some Gallic sentinel  
 To ask the moon if lately she had strayed  
 Above his vine-clad home in la belle France  
 And gazed upon his Marie or, perchance,  
 Had watched his little children as they prayed.

" Perhaps Duchambon, frail, faint-hearted chief,  
 Stood here to lend his soul and voice to grief  
 To listen to the sullen soldier's plaint  
 The faithless finical's imperious fear  
 The maiden's terror, and the mother's tear,  
 The prayer of pious age to patron Saint.

. . . . .

" Ofttimes the wind, to wreak its deepest dirge,  
 Accompanied by the monotonic surge,  
 On thund'rous rock keyed ocean of the shore,  
 Comes up in a diapason through the night,  
 And often, when the storm is at its height,  
 Ye think ye hear the shriek of those at war.

" Indeed an infant Carthage lies below,  
 And one huge grave sepulchres friend and foe,  
 How tranquil! Now behold what peace is here ;  
 The bloody tempests spent ; and save the hum  
 Of distant commerce all the scene is dumb,  
 And holy as a cloister after twilight prayer "

THE REVIVAL OF LOUISBURG



## THE REVIVAL OF LOUISBURG

THE present commercial importance of New Louisburg, a town built on the site of the north-east suburbs of Old Louisburg, is principally due to the Dominion Coal Company, a corporation organised through the efforts of the Hon. B. F. Pearson, of Halifax, a descendant of Colonel Thomas Pearson, of Lord Rawdon's Regiment, during the American Revolutionary War. Colonel Pearson being deprived of his South Carolina estates by the United States, removed to Nova Scotia about 1784, and became one of the original grantees of Rawdon, in Hants County, and a member of the Parliament of Nova Scotia. In 1891 his great-grandson, Mr. B. F. Pearson, who now occupies a seat in the Nova Scotian Legislature for the same constituency, projected the equipment of the Sydney coal-field, with mines capable of meeting the requirements of Canada, connected by rail with Louisburg.

Mr. Pearson was very greatly assisted by Mr. Henry N. Whitney, of Boston, Mass., who, with the support of the Hon. W. S. Fielding, then Premier of Nova Scotia, executed his great conception; and laid the foundation of its logical sequel, *i.e.* of the iron and steel industries which have made the name of Cape Breton familiar to the ironmasters of the world.

This increased industrial activity has resulted in a marked distribution of wealth among all classes in Cape Breton, and transformed part of its classic, but little known, eastern coast into one of the most populous

regions in Canada. Population has increased rapidly, towns have greatly expanded, and new ones rise as collieries and iron works spread over the district. The labouring population is constantly employed and well remunerated, and the foundations of a lasting prosperity, which is improving the economic condition of all Eastern Canada, have been securely laid. To Messrs. Pearson and Whitney, and the present Finance Minister of Canada, Louisburg, Cape Breton, and the Empire consequently owe much, and their names will ever be coeval with the industrial exploitation of the strategical Isle wrested from France at the last siege of Louisburg.

### THE COALFIELD NEAR LOUISBURG.

THE isolation and capture of Cape Breton by the Imperial and New England troops in A.D. 1758, permanently vested in the British Empire the sole coalfield on the Atlantic seaboard of North America; and the importance of its acquisition, on the eve of the inauguration of ocean steam navigation, cannot be over-estimated.

The Imperial importance of the field was commented upon by the *London Times*, about A.D. 1893, in the following terms:—

“The full significance of these coal resources to a great maritime power can only be fully understood when we reflect—first, upon the increasing importance of the St. Lawrence as a food route, and secondly—with the exception of what might be temporarily stored at Bermuda, and the West India stations—these are the only coal supplies to which British ships have the national right of access in time of war, along the whole Atlantic coast of America.”

About the same time (A.D. 1891-2) the author drew attention to the coalfield in the English press. In the



following year alarmist statements appeared in the London press respecting the Hon. W. S. Fielding's proposals to legislate into operation the "New England" corporation, which has revolutionised the Cape Breton coal industry. The defence of this far-seeing measure, immediately published in London, was initiated and prepared by the author.

The following year (1894), in a pamphlet entitled "Cheap and Rapid Coaling," inscribed to commercial interests in the British Isles, the author pointed out that Cape Breton should no longer be neglected by business men like the British; that her coalfields have a direct influence upon the trade and commerce of the Empire; that they are thoroughly imperial in their aspects, and stretch out beyond all other portions of the continent towards the Old World.

This pamphlet was supplemented by short papers on the strategic importance of the coalfield, distributed among boards of trade and chambers of commerce in Great Britain; and, in 1899, the author commenced the operations and researches in the submarine section of the field at Morien, which have increased the acknowledged mineral wealth of Eastern Canada by some \$600,000,000.

The Sydney coalfield, as this rich mineral region is popularly called, covers about 32 miles of the eastern coast of the island, between Louisburg and St. Anne's, formerly a sub-fort of the French metropolis. Both from its geographical position and the quality and adaptability of the coal, this strategic district is the premier coalfield of Canada. The fact that it is the sole coalfield on the Atlantic seaboard of North America gives it a preponderating commercial advantage, and, considered in connection with its situation, at the entrance to one of the most extensive inland waterways in the world, distinguishes it as the inevitable site of some of the most important industries in the western hemisphere.

The land area of the field is limited by excessive erosion; and if we consider the main seams only, the productive district is further reduced in area. But, including the submarine extension (now proved to be as accessible as the land district), to the present mechanical limit of mining, the field holds, according to the author's calculations, fully 9,000,000,000 tons of coal.

As seams thinner than four feet are excluded from the calculation of the quantity of coal in the land area of the field, and seams thinner than three feet from the calculation of the quantity of coal under the sea, there is, however, a great deal more than 9,000,000,000 tons of coal available for the collieries of the "Coalfield near Louisburg."

The annals of the field, which are full of historic interest, cover 186 years. After the fall of Louisburg, in 1745, and up to the Treaty of Aix la Chapelle, "prodigious" quantities of its coal were exported to New England, according to French historians; and, during the ensuing fifty years, mines spread over the region.

In 1826 the entire coalfield, except "Sydney Mines," which was controlled by the Bowns (a highly respected Loyalist family, which has just claims to rank among the fathers of the coal trade of Canada), was leased to the Duke of York. The Duke transferred the lease to Messrs. Rundell, Bridge and Rundell, of London, and this firm created the celebrated, though now obsolete, General Mining Association to develop the field. In 1827 this corporation obtained possession of the Sydney mines, and it held a monopoly of the coalfield for about 31 years, during which period the home and foreign markets for Cape Breton coal greatly extended.

In 1857 the Association surrendered its monopoly, which was becoming unpopular, reserving for its own use certain choice coal areas; and rival coal mines were established in various parts of the field. These mines expanded to important dimensions, and in 1893 they

were merged into the Dominion Coal Company and connected with Louisburg by a well-equipped modern railway. The General Mining Association remained outside of the combination, but it was later absorbed by the Nova Scotia Steel Company. Since the amalgamation of the mines opened subsequent to the surrender of the "Duke of York's lease" their trade has greatly expanded, and the historic New England market has been served to an unprecedented extent. At present no limit to their prosperous expansion is visible.

Cape Breton also holds two minor coalfields, viz.: the Richmond coalfield, on the edge of the Straits of Canso, and the Inverness field, on the west coast of the island. Mining has commenced in the latter, exploratory work is proceeding in the former; and it is hoped that a zone of industrial activity will soon girdle the Ile Royale of the French.



## APPENDICES.





## APPENDICES

### VAUBAN'S SYSTEM OF FORTIFICATIONS.

SEBASTIAN LE PRESTRE DE VAUBAN, designer of the type of fortifications erected at Louisburg, was born at Saint Léger du Fouyeret, near Avallon, in Burgundy, on May 15th, 1633. Left a destitute orphan at ten, he was brought up by the village curé, and at seventeen enlisted in the regiment of Condé. Taken prisoner in 1653, Mazarin persuaded him to enter the service of France, and in 1655 he received a commission as a Royal Engineer. In A.D. 1658 he had the chief direction of the attacks made by Turenne's army, and he devoted the eight years of peace that followed this campaign to the construction of military works at Dunkirk and elsewhere. In 1667 he helped to reduce Lille, and he was later appointed governor of its new citadel. During the campaigns in Holland, 1672-1678, he took part in seventeen sieges and one defence, and rose to be Brigadier, Major, and finally Commissary-General of Fortifications. He it was who first introduced the method of approach by parallels at the siege of Maestrecht (1673), and with such effect that the place capitulated in thirteen days. His other exploits in these campaigns included the triumphant defence of Oudenarde, and the sieges of Valenciennes and Cambrai. During the ten years of peace which followed, A.D. 1678, he surrounded France with a complete cordon of fortresses, and at the outbreak of war, in A.D. 1688, he conducted, with his usual success, the sieges of Philipsburg—introducing there his invention of ricochet batteries—Mannheim, Mons, and Namur. The sieges of Charleroi (1693), Ath (1697),

Breisach (1704), and the construction of the entrenched camp, near Dunkirk, are among the more important exploits of the last fourteen years of his life. He died at Paris, on March 30th, 1707, about thirteen years before the commencement of the fortifications of Louisburg, on his first system. His body was buried at Bazoches, and in A.D. 1806 Napoleon translated his heart to the Invalides.

He conducted fifty successful sieges, and designed or improved the works of more than one hundred and sixty fortresses, including those of Dunkirk, Landau, Lille, and Strasburg. In A.D. 1687 he invented the socket to supercede the plug bayonet.

#### MARTIAL CONDUCT OF THE NEW ENGLANDERS AT THE FIRST AND LAST SIEGES OF LOUISBURG.

THE valour of the New England forces at the first siege of Louisburg was attested by one of the officers of the French garrison (*vide* Gibson's *Journal of the Siege*), who said that, in all the histories he had ever read, he never met with an instance of so bold and presumptuous an attempt; that 'twas almost impracticable as any one could think, for only 3,000 to 4,000 raw, undisciplined men to lay siege to such a well-fortified city, and declared that, if anyone had asked him what number of men would be sufficient to carry on such an enterprise, he would have answered not less than 30,000. To this he added that he never heard of or saw such courage and intrepidity in such a handful of men, who regarded neither shot nor bombs. But what surprised him more than all, he said, was the erection of siege batteries in a single night; more particularly the facine battery, which was not five and twenty rods from the city wall; and the dragging of 42-pounders from the (captured) Grand Battery, two miles over very rough roads to the batteries before the city.

The intrepid conduct of the New Englanders, thirteen years later, at the last siege, was attested by Brigadier-General Lawrence in a letter to the "Governor of New England," dated July 7, 1758, as follows :—

"I have particular pleasure in assuring you that the Companies of Rangers raised in New England behaved at the landing (at Gabarous) so as to do great honour to themselves and the country they came from."

---

### THE FIRST CONQUEROR OF LOUISBURG.

THE distinction of the first conqueror of Louisburg belongs to William Pepperrell, of Kittery Point, on the Piscataqua; a colonel of Militia, extensively engaged in the North American fisheries and other mercantile pursuits; then probably the richest man in North America, and the owner of 100 vessels, which had "carried the Cross of St. George into every port on the Atlantic and Mediterranean to which 'Colonial' ships had entrance." He had held many important public offices in New England, pre-eminently that of President of the Council, the highest in the gift of the people, and he was popular with all classes.

The fact that so many vessels has been captured and carried into Louisburg during the summer of A.D. 1744, that it was feared the New England merchants would not be able to carry on their maritime trade the following year, except under naval convoy, doubtless particularly impressed upon Pepperrell the necessity of seizing the Cape Breton stronghold, whose sombre walls and massive towers loomed like giants above the northern seas; but he also had the interest of the "common people" and of Nova Scotia at heart.

Although in his forty-ninth year, he cheerfully accepted the duties and responsibilities thrust upon him, and led the Militia of his country against the scientific entrenchments of one of the Great Powers.

On the afternoon of June 17th, A.D. 1745, he marched this Militia through the gates of Louisburg, and paraded

it before the French troops between the casemates of the King's bastion. The keys of the city were delivered to him there, and a general salute from the fleet and siege batteries signalised the auspicious event.

Britain acknowledged his services to the Empire by raising him to the dignity of a baronet. He was also honoured with the Royal authority to raise and command a regiment of the line in British North America; and he shared with Warren the responsibilities of the Governorship of Louisburg.

In May, 1746, when 1,875 men of Fuller's, Warburton's, and Frampton's regiments relieved the New England garrison, Sir William Pepperrell left Louisburg for Boston, where he was received with salutes from the batteries and the shipping. On June 24th he was officially thanked by the House of Representatives for the services he had rendered to the Empire, especially to New England; and, after the ceremony, he returned to his home at Kittery, followed by the admiration of the world.

#### IMPROVEMENT OF LOUISBURG BY THE NEW ENGLAND AND IMPERIAL AUTHORITIES, A.D. 1745-1749; AND SUBSEQUENTLY BY THE FRENCH.

DURING the British occupation, A.D. 1745-1749, large sums were expended in repairing the fortifications; bomb-proof casemates were strongly constructed, and spacious military barracks were erected near the Queen's Gate.

About July 12th, A.D. 1749, Desherbiers, the new French Governor, entered the city, escorted by two 80-gun ships, a French garrison and large quantities of military supplies in 20 transports. Some of the transports were placed at the disposal of Colonel Hopson, the retiring Governor and the two British regiments stationed at Louisburg. After the re-occupation of the city, the mortal remains of M. de la Rochefoucauld, Duc d'Anville,

Admiral of the French armada against Louisburg in A.D. 1746, were translated from Halifax to the sanctuary of the King's chapel.

The city was connected with St. Peter's by a road, of which traces still remain, built at a cost of 100,000 livres. A half-moon battery, armed with 20 guns, was raised on Point Rochefort, and massive curtains of masonry, one of which was bastioned, were erected to increase the security of the city and the strength of the moat.

---

### THE TOMB OF THE ADMIRAL OF THE FRENCH ARMADA AGAINST LOUISBURG.

SIR JOHN BOURINOT says that Admiral M. de la Rochefoucauld, Duc d'Anville, whose decease in "Halifax" Harbour, into which port he had conducted the shattered French armada in A.D. 1746, is mentioned in the text, was a member of one of the most illustrious families of France, immortalised by the author of the famous maxims and memoirs which still remain unequalled for their literary taste and style, and their wealth of astute and practical philosophy. The Admiral's remains did not rest at "Halifax" for any length of time. By permission of the British authorities his body was disinterred in 1749, and conveyed by the ship *Grand Esprit* to Louisburg, where it was received by the French with the honours due to the rank and birth of so distinguished a man. There Admiral d'Anville was laid to rest in the parish or King's chapel, at the foot of the altar in the sanctuary, with the solemn ceremonial of the Roman Catholic Church, and his dust, in the course of a few years, mingled with the ruins of the citadel when it was levelled to the ground.

. . . . .

The first settlers of Halifax saw traces of the Duke's ill-fated expedition and found the bodies of some of the French soldiers reclining against the trees with their muskets beside them, man and weapon mingling in mutual decay.

## THE GOVERNOR OF NOVA SCOTIA AT THE LAST SIEGE OF LOUISBURG.

THE troops sent into action under Brigadier-General Lawrence, the Governor of Nova Scotia, on June 8th, A.D. 1758, at Gabarous, were detachments of the 15th, 40th, 35th, 22nd, and 45th Regiments; also the 3rd Battalion of the 60th Regiment. The Governor was supported by Colonel Wilmot, Lieutenant-Colonel Handfield, and Majors Hamilton and Hussey. Lawrence's boat was sunk by a round shot in the surf, and nine of his comrades were killed or drowned; but he, being a splendid swimmer, swam safely to the shore.

## THE GOVERNOR-ELECT OF LOUISBURG.

THE troops sent into action under Brigadier-General Whitmore (subsequently Governor of Louisburg), on June 8th, A.D. 1758, were detachments of the 1st, 47th, 48th, 58th, and 17th Regiments; also the 2nd Battalion of the 60th Regiment.

"The enemy," says Major-General Amherst, "acted very wisely, did not throw away a shot, and directed the whole fire of their cannon and musketry upon the boats."

## LOSS OF LIFE AT THE BATTLE OF KENNINGTON COVE, A.D. 1758.

THE losses of the British in effecting a landing at Kennington Cove were:—

	Killed.	Wounded
Captain . . . . .	1	0
Lieutenants . . . . .	2	5
Ensigns . . . . .	1	0
Sergeants . . . . .	4	2
Corporals . . . . .	1	1
Privates . . . . .	41	51
	—	—
Totals . . . . .	50	59
	—	—



The French loss in killed and wounded was not ascertained. Two captains, two lieutenants, and seventy privates were taken prisoners. Pichon states that 200 of the French were killed and taken prisoners.

The spoil captured by the British after the battle included a magazine of powder, the sutler's grand tent for supplying the troops stationed to oppose the British, 2,000 loaves, 7 bags of bread, 100 kegs of wine, 100 kegs of brandy, and 700 dollars, &c. The bread, wine, and brandy were of great service to the British, as they could receive little from their ships while the sea ran so high.

### MERCENARIES IN THE GARRISON OF LOUISBURG.

THE following extract from a letter received at Philadelphia from an officer who was present at the last siege, dated June 24th, A.D. 1758, contains some interesting information about these troops:—

“We have had between twenty and thirty deserters from the French, most of whom are from a German regiment, enlisted by Colonel Fischer for the Prussian service, and sold by him to the French. They intended to desert in one body a few days after we landed, but were betrayed and the principals hanged: there have been sixteen men seen hanging over the ramparts together, part of this regiment, and we hear that two of them are not suffered to do duty together or converse with one another. They are daily coming in, and are employed as marines on board the men-of-war.”

### LOSS OF LIFE AT LAST SIEGE OF LOUISBURG.

	Killed.	Wounded.	Total Killed and Wounded.
British . . . .	172	352	524
French (about) . . . .	.	.	330
Total killed and wounded of both nationalities . . . .	.	.	854

The figures showing the French loss are taken from a letter written by ex-Governor Druacour to a friend in Paris, dated Andover, England, October 1st, A.D. 1758. The Chevalier did not include the loss of life, &c., of the French fleet, which the author has not ascertained. English accounts of the siege place the French loss in killed and wounded as high as 1,000.

### IMPLEMENTS AND ORNAMENTS OF WAR SURRENDERED BY THE FRENCH AT LOUISBURG, A.D. 1758.

THE implements and ornaments of war surrendered by the French included :—

11	Stands of colours.
218	Pieces of iron ordnance.
7	Brass mortars.
11	Iron mortars.
7,500	Muskets and accoutrements.
9,601	Round shot.
733	Grape shot.
33	Case shot.
398	Double-headed shot.
1,053	Shells.
80,000	Musket cartridges.
13	Tons of musket balls.
600	Barrels of powder.
12	Tons of sheet and pig lead.
6	Tons of iron.
600	Wheelbarrows.
2,482	Shovels and pick-axes.
196	Sundry tools.

The eleven stands of colours have disappeared from St. Paul's Cathedral. Writing to the author on November 9th, 1905, the Dean of the Cathedral states that none of them are now in St. Paul's. The Dean of Westminster, writing on November 11th, 1905, also states that nothing is known of them at the Abbey.

## LOUISBURG'S IMPORTANCE TO FRANCE.

THE *London Chronicle*, of September 12th, 1758, commenting on the injury inflicted on France by the capture of Louisburg, said :—

“ It is confessed, admitted, and declared on all hands that the possession of Louisburg by the English is not near so beneficial to them as the loss of it is detrimental to France.

“ It was the key of those possessions which she had boasted more than once in print formed an empire more extensive than that of ancient Rome, and which, by the measures she had taken, she seemed to design to render as powerful.”

Brown, the Cape Breton historian, says that one of the main reasons why France espoused the cause of the revolting British Colonies in A.D. 1778 was the hope that, by doing so, she might recover possession of Cape Breton Island.

---

## REDUCTION OF MARINE INSURANCE RATES AFTER THE FALL OF LOUISBURG.

ON receipt of the news of the capture of Louisburg, marine insurance rates on British tonnage in American waters dropped from 25 or 30 to 12 per cent., the French underwriters increased their rates on French tonnage in the same proportion.

---

## COST OF MAINTAINING LOUISBURG.

THE *British Chronicle*, of December 13th, 1758, announced that the cost of maintaining Louisburg would be £100,000 sterling per annum.

---

## THE LURING OF HOSTILE SHIPS INTO LOUIS- BURG AFTER THE FALL, 1758.

THE English newspapers of the year 1758 contain the following :—

“ A ship that is arrived at Bristol from Halifax says that five Dutch ships had got into Louisburg Harbour,

laden with provisions for the use of the French garrison; but, to their great surprise, they found they were got in a trap, the place being inhabited by the English."

Complications arose over these, and other Dutch ships, employed in carrying merchandise, etc., for France, to the hurt of England. Those interested in the legal aspects of the negotiations between the British and Dutch Governments on this subject will find the matter treated by Dr. Marrott, an advocate, in a work entitled "The Case of the Dutch Ships Considered," from which the following is extracted:—

"The Dutch have lent their names to French subjects to cover French property.

"The Dutch, sailing to French colonies, have feigned voyages to their own colonies, to defraud and frustrate the subjects of England in the lawful pursuit of their right, and in the prosecution of a just war.

"The Dutch have carried provisions from British ports, to the enemy under the pretence of property destined to neutral ports.

"So far, therefore, as any of these circumstances is true, so far are particular Dutch subjects liable to all inconveniences resulting from every act of their own inconsistent with the idea of neutrality, with the law of nations, and the rights of true, unmixed Hollanders."

The *British Chronicle* of January 11th, 1759, contains observations "showing that the Treaty made between England and Holland in 1674 does not entitle the Dutch to any right to trade to the French settlements in America."

## THE SINKING OF THE SHIPS IN THE MOUTH OF LOUISBURG HARBOUR, A.D. 1758.

DIVERS sent down in recent years have brought interesting relics of these ships to the surface, and numerous ornaments, or trinkets, fashioned from their hulls now decorate many homes in Cape Breton and New England.

## THE BURNING OF THE SHIPS IN LOUISBURG HARBOUR.

PARKMAN, in "Montcalm and Wolfe," says that the catastrophe to the French fleet in the harbour of Louisburg, on July 21st, A.D. 1758, was caused by a bomb falling upon the *Célèbre*. This is an error, the conflagration started in the *Entreprenant*.

---

## THE KING'S GIFTS TO THE MESSENGERS FROM LOUISBURG, A.D. 1758.

CAPTAINS AMHERST and Edgecumbe, who brought the news of the fall of Louisburg to the King, got £500 sterling apiece, and a further sum for a sword and ring.

---

ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN TO THE BRITISH ADMIRALTY ON THE CUTTING OUT AND BURNING OF THE *BIENFAISANT* AND *PRUDENT* IN LOUISBURG HARBOUR, A.D. 1758.

"*Namur*, Gabarous Bay, July 27, 1758.

"I will not trouble you with a particular detail of the landing and siege, but cannot help mentioning a particular gallant action, in the night between the 25th and 26th instant.

"The boats of the squadron were in two divisions, commanded by the Captains Laforey and Balfour, to endeavour either to take or burn the *Prudent*, of 74 guns, and the *Bienfaisant*, of 64, the only remaining ships in the harbour, in which they succeeded so well as to burn the former, she being aground, and to take the latter and tow her into the north-east harbour, notwithstanding they were exposed to the cannon and musketry of the Island

Battery, Point Rochefort, and the town, being favoured with a dark night. Our loss was inconsiderable: seven men killed and nine wounded. I have given the command of the *Bienfaisant* to Captain Balfour, and the *Écho* frigate to Captain Laforey. Mr. Affleck and Mr. Bickerton, Lieutenants, who boarded the *Bienfaisant*, succeed these gentlemen in the *Etna* fire ship and *Hunter* sloop.

"I have only farther to assure His Majesty that all the troops and officers, both sea and land, have supported the fatigues of this siege with firmness and alacrity, and I am," etc.

---

#### ARRIVAL OF THE GARRISON OF LOUISBURG IN ENGLAND.

THE following appeared in the English newspapers of the period: (1.) "The *Kingston* and *Burford*, men-of-war, convoying transports carrying about twenty-five hundred prisoners (part of the garrison of Louisburg), have reached Plymouth. The French officers are all landed; they seem to be in high spirits, have plenty of money, and all wear their swords."

(2.) Ashburton, October 4th, 1758: "Part of the officers of the garrison of Louisburg are here on their parole for the winter. They are not Frenchman, but Germans, hired to defend the place. They are full of money, being paid three years' pay before they would enter into the service. As soon as the English arrived they broke open the military chest and took the money. There are between thirty and forty of the better sort who have servants to dress and wait upon them. One of them had as much gold as it was supposed would near fill half a peck. They say that our soldiers did not fight like men, but like lions."



MEMOIR ON THE FRENCH REGIMENTS COMPRISING THE GARRISON OF LOUISBURG, A.D. 1758. EX GORDON'S "DIARY OF THE SIEGE."

FORTY-SEVENTH or Artillery. Raised in 1670, under the name of Fusiliers, to guard the cannon; Louis XIV. gave them the name of Royal Artillery in 1673. This regiment consisted of five battalions, but by an Ordinance of December 8th, 1755, the Corps of Artillery and Engineers were joined and called "The Royal Artillery and Engineers of France"; and by an Ordinance of December 1st, 1756, His Majesty augmented the corps by one battalion, a company of miners, and one of artificers, which made six battalions, six companies of miners, and the like number of artificers. Each battalion consisted of 800 men, of 16 companies of 50 men, of which 2 were sappers, 9 gunners, and 5 bombardiers, making in all 4,800 artillerymen. Each of these battalions had a colonel-commandant, a lieutenant-colonel, who had no company, and "qui joinsent chacun dans leur grades les mêmes prerogatives des colonels et lieutenant-colonels en pied d'infanterie en suivant le rang du corps."

The companies of miners and artificers were separately or with the battalions, those of the miners consisted of 60 men, and those of the artificers of 40: in all 360 miners and 240 artificers. The six eldest captains of the battalions and the eldest captain of miners and artificers ranked as lieutenant-colonels.

Uniform: Blue coat; lining, cuffs, waistcoat, breeches, and stockings red; boot sleeve, cross pockets; brass buttons gilded; gold-laced hat and black cockade.

The Second Battalion of the 31st, or Artois, raised in 1610, under Henry IV. It changed rank in 1670 with the Royal, raised in A.D. 1615, which became the Second Battalion of Orleans, so called from the Duc d'Orleans, brother to Louis XIV., being their colonel. Uniform: Greyish-white coat, red waistcoat, pockets, great escut-

cheon fashion, nine buttons on them, brass. Colonel M. le Chevalier de Brienne.

The Second Battalion of the 42nd, or Bourgogne.—This regiment consisted of two battalions. It was raised by Louis XIV. in A.D. 1668, and called after the Province of Bourgogne.

Uniform: Greyish-white coat; brass buttons, worked on wood; cross pockets, and gold-laced hat. Colonel M. le Chevalier de Heronville.

The Second Battalion of the 62nd, or Cambise, Regiment.—Raised in Sicily by Marshal de Vivonne in A.D. 1676. Vivonne was its first colonel; Thyranges succeeded him in A.D. 1688, Mortemart in A.D. 1702, Laval in A.D. 1712, Tonnay Charante in A.D. 1729, Mortemart in A.D. 1731, and afterwards Laval.

Their having parti-coloured lace and buttons was, in A.D. 1758, said to be a mark of distinction for good behaviour, although it was first imposed upon the regiment for the contrary.

Uniform: Greyish-white coat, red cuffs and waistcoat; lace, white and yellow; buttons, brass and pewter, to answer the lace; a yellow thread and white through the whole hat; gold and silver lace. Colonel M. de Cambis.

The Second Battalion of the *Volontaires Étranger*: white coat, green cuffs, white buttons.

Forty-third Royal Marines.—Raised in A.D. 1669 of *compagnies franches* of Marines intended for the sea service, in consequence of which the captains quitted their companies to serve as lieutenants of men-of-war, which many did, so this regiment was put on board the navy, and since that has been employed in the land service. It has two battalions.

Uniform: Greyish white coat; cuffs, collar, and waistcoat, blue; wrought pewter buttons; silver laced hat. Officers, silver buttons on the sleeves, collar, and waistcoat. Colonel M. de Levi Liran.

GENERAL AMHERST'S ACKNOWLEDGMENT  
OF THE  
THANKS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

General Amherst acknowledged the thanks of the House of Commons for his services to his King and country in North America, transmitted to him by the Speaker, as follows :—

“ Sir,—I had the favour of receiving your very obliging letter of 6th December, enclosing a resolution the House of Commons came to that day.

“ It is with the deepest sense of gratitude I received that highest mark of honour, the thanks of the House, and I hope my future conduct in the service of my country will best acknowledge it, and render me more deserving of so very great an honour.

“ I must beg leave to return you, sir, my most sincere thanks for the gracious manner in which you have been pleased to signify to me the resolution of the House.

“ I am, with the utmost respect, sir, your most humble and most obedient servant,

“ JEFFERY AMHERST.”

---

LOUISBURG RAVISHED TO BUILD HALIFAX.

A prominent instance of the “ removal ” of Louisburg appears in the “ Collections ” of the Nova Scotia Historical Society, Vol. XII., which state that in 1759 Richard Bulkeley, secretary, and subsequently temporary Governor of Nova Scotia, “ erected a house at the corner of Prince and Argyle Streets, Halifax, which was for many years considered the most elegant in the city. Before building it Mr. Bulkeley chartered a vessel, and visited Louisburg, where he procured a quantity of cut stone suitable for the building. This house (now the Carlton House Hotel) still stands, with very slight modern alterations, much as it was when erected. The reception room in the rear,

with the fine black marble mantel from the house of the Governor of Louisburg, is precisely as when built."

During his brief term as administrator, *i.e.* Governor of Nova Scotia (November 20th, 1791-May 14th, 1792), Mr. Bulkeley did his official entertaining at this house, and it may therefore be said that the dismembered particles of Royal Louisburg, reconstructed into the residence of a British Governor, rang with the joyous revels of her conquerors.

On New Year's Day, A.D. 1792, this edifice was the scene of a brilliant *levée*, followed in the evening by a ball long remembered in the history of the city.

The "Collections" (Vol. VIII.) also relate that a number of the soldiers and others, having "enriched themselves with the spoils of Louisburg," settled in Halifax in A.D. 1758.

This lends weight to the statements of the deported inhabitants of Louisburg, who complained on their arrival at the Isle of Rhé, that, on entering Louisburg, the English seized all the warehouses and shops, and carried off the goods, leaving to the conquered merely their household furniture.

There is no reason to doubt that Halifax was partly built upon the spoils of Louisburg; and it is an historical fact that the cannon which had bristled upon the walls of the northern stronghold were planted at the street corners of the Nova Scotian capital as trophies of the last siege.

---

### THE HERO OF LOUISBURG.

General Amherst's selection of Wolfe to dislodge the French from Kennington (Freshwater) Cove was probably due in a large measure to the conspicuous ability he had displayed upon European battlefields. Already Wolfe had fought at Dettingen, Falkirk, and Culloden; and he had been publicly thanked by the Duke of Cumberland for his conduct at Lawfeldt. His exploits were the subjects of song in every barrack room in the British Empire, and it was conceded that if his advice had been taken the total

failure of the British expedition against Rochefort in 1757 would probably have been avoided. The landing at Kennington Cove has been frequently described, but the following account by an eye-witness possesses the charm of some novelty :—

“ The French had made a breastwork for two miles in length to hinder our landing, and had taken the field with the troops of the garrison to hinder our marching or landing anywhere. On the 4th, 5th, 6th, and 7th of June, our admirals and generals were reconnoitering where to land. At last all the frigates were ordered in shore to cannonade the breastwork. At four o'clock on the morning of the 8th the signal was made, and the troops rowed to the shore; but such a fight was never seen before, so very dreadful was the fire from all the French works, great guns and small arms. This continued for fifteen minutes without the least intermission, so that our boats, that were ahead, were put into great confusion. But then it was that our brave generals, Lawrence (the Governor of Nova Scotia) and Wolfe, burning with fire and rage to see our troops retreating, leapt out of the boats, crying to the Grenadiers, ‘ Follow me, my boys ! This is for England’s glory ; ’tis better to die than retreat shamefully ! ’ Such an example inspired the troops, who followed the generals, and, getting to the land as fast as they could, charged the French trenches, and drove the French out of them.”

Wolfe’s landing force was composed of the four eldest companies of Grenadiers, followed by 550 Light Infantry (chosen as marksmen from the different regiments), some companies of Rangers, the Highland Regiment, and eight remaining companies of Grenadiers.

Wolfe, it is said, was armed during part of the engagement with only a walking-cane. He was one of the first to leap on shore, and he scaled the cliffs with his soldiers exposed to the fire of crowds of musketeers. His name should ever be associated with Louisburg in the annals of the British army, and he should be styled in the twentieth, as he was in the eighteenth century, “ the hero of Louisburg.”

After the army landed Wolfe led a detachment through ambuscades of lurking Indians to Lighthouse Point, where he erected a battery and assailed the Island battery, which closed the harbour mouth. The bombardment of Battery Island was one of the most stirring incidents of the last siege of Louisburg, and the consequences of its fall are described in verse. Wolfe also traced out the siege batteries on the right near the seashore, within half a mile of the walls, repulsed a sortie from the West Gate, and seizing an important point, established himself in front of the Barrachois. Wherever there was fighting to be done or difficulties to overcome he was to the front, and wherever he led all were ready to follow. The soldiers loved, the general admired him, and the fall of the city was largely due to his untiring energy.

After his death the following curious ode, imaginatively descriptive of his reception by the heroic dead, was sung by an officer of the Montreal Club at an assemblage in Boston :—

“ As Wolfe, all glorious, lately stood  
 Hard by the Stygian ferry,  
 Old Charon says, in funny mood  
 (For watermen are merry),  
 ‘ Step in, my boy, no fare to pay,  
 These paltry sons of b—es,  
 Which you’ve sent in such shoals to-day,  
 By —, have lined my breeches.’  
 So on he tugg’d, and sang and swore,  
 As any Thames man would,  
 Until they reached Elysian’s shore,  
 Where rest the great and good.  
 There Homer’s chief salutes his friend,  
 Great souls soon know each other,  
 And all the plumed Shades attend  
 To hail great Wolfe their brother.  
 Caesar contest he was outdone,  
 Leonidas gave way,  
 And Abraham’s Plains with Marathon  
 Bore a disputed sway.



' Parbleu, messieurs,' says great Turenne,  
 ' The stripling's genius tops us ' ;  
 I fear,' says Marlborough to Eugène,  
 ' Of all our wreaths he lops us.'  
 The modest Wolfe their praise declined,  
 True worth will ne'er presume.  
 He told them Amherst was behind,  
 To him he must give room.  
 Amherst the gentle, brave, humane,  
 A Fabius when it's merit,  
 But, any enterprise to gain,  
 A Hannibal in spirit.  
 Then he who saved the Theban state,  
 Like Wolfe, who conquering died,  
 Led the young chieftain to his seat,  
 And placed him by his side.  
 There let him rest ; we'll drink a bout  
 To his immortal name,  
 And when our country calls us out  
 Let's freely bleed like him."

No monument has been raised at Louisburg to Wolfe, although his military services to the Empire at that place greatly contributed to the foundation of the Dominion of Canada.

Writing in 1870, Brown, a Cape Breton historian, said : " No monument nor sculptured stone recalls his memory near the scene of his gallant exploits. Even the mouldering ruins of Louisburg, once mistress of the seas, have been almost obliterated ; but there are still a few families, descendants of men who were present, who hand down from generation to generation many a stirring story of the siege ; and the hardy fishermen of Gabarous, returning at nightfall from their daily toil on the deep, oft point out the spot where he landed—still known by the name of ' Wolfe's Rock.' "

It is hoped that the memorial tower about to be raised on the ruins of Louisburg will contain a suitable tribute to the memory of this hero, whose untimely death caused George II. to shed tears.

## INSCRIPTION ON ADMIRAL BOSCAWEN'S TOMB.

A monument of exquisite workmanship, designed by Mr. Adam and executed by Mr. Rysbrack, was erected about September, 1763, in the parish church of St. Michael, Penkivel, Cornwall, to the memory of Admiral Boscawen, with the following inscription :—

HERE LIES THE RIGHT HONOURABLE  
EDWARD BOSCAWEN,  
ADMIRAL OF THE BLUE, GENERAL OF MARINES,  
LORD OF THE ADMIRALTY, AND ONE OF  
HIS MAJESTY'S MOST HONOURABLE PRIVY COUNCIL.  
HIS BIRTH, THOUGH NOBLE,  
HIS TITLE, THOUGH ILLUSTRIOUS,  
WERE BUT INCIDENTAL ADDITIONS TO HIS GREATNESS.  
HISTORY,  
IN MORE EXPRESSIVE AND MORE INDELIBLE CHARACTERS,  
WILL INFORM LATEST POSTERITY  
WITH WHAT ARDENT ZEAL, WITH WHAT SUCCESSFUL VALOUR,  
HE SERVED HIS COUNTRY,  
AND TAUGHT HER ENEMIES TO DREAD  
HER NAVAL POWER.  
IN COMMAND HE WAS EQUAL TO EVERY EMERGENCY,  
SUPERIOR TO EVERY DIFFICULTY.  
IN HIS HIGH DEPARTMENTS MASTERLY AND UPRIGHT.  
HIS EXAMPLE FORMED, WHILE  
HIS PATRONAGE REWARDED, MERIT.  
WITH THE HIGHEST EXERTIONS OF MILITARY GREATNESS  
HE UNITED THE GENTLEST OFFICES OF HUMANITY.  
HIS CONCERN FOR THE INTEREST  
AND UNWEARIED ATTENTION TO THE HEALTH OF ALL  
UNDER HIS COMMAND  
SOFTENED THE NECESSARY EXACTIONS OF DUTY  
AND THE RIGOURS OF DISCIPLINE  
BY THE CARE OF A GUARDIAN AND THE TENDERNESS  
OF A FATHER.  
THUS BELOVED AND REVERED,  
AMIALE IN PRIVATE LIFE, AS ILLUSTRIOUS IN PUBLIC,  
THIS GALLANT AND PROFITABLE SERVANT OF HIS COUNTRY,  
WHEN HE WAS BEGINNING TO REAP THE HARVEST

# THE LAST SIEGE OF LOUISBURG. 171

OF HIS TOILS AND DANGERS,  
IN THE FULL MERIDIAN OF YEARS AND GLORY,  
AFTER HAVING BEEN PROVIDENTIALLY PRESERVED  
THROUGH EVERY PERIL INCIDENT TO HIS PROFESSION,  
DIED OF A FEVER  
ON THE 10TH OF JANUARY, IN THE YEAR 1761,  
THE 50TH OF HIS AGE,  
AT HATCHLANDS PARK, IN SURREY,  
A SEAT HE HAD JUST FINISHED (AT THE EXPENSE OF  
THE ENEMIES OF HIS COUNTRY);  
AND (AMIDST THE GROANS AND TEARS OF  
HIS BELOVED CORNISHMEN)  
WAS HERE DEPOSITED.

The deceased admiral was the third son of Viscount Falmouth, and previous to his Cape Breton expedition he has distinguished himself at the taking of Puerto Bello, the siege of Carthagena, in the capture of the French ship *Medée* with 800 prisoners, in the battle of Cape Finisterre (May 3rd, 1747), where he was wounded, and in the retreat from Pondicherry.

In 1751 he was created a Lord of the Admiralty. After the reduction of Louisburg he "crowned his career" by a signal victory over the French Toulon fleet, in the Bay of Lagos, on August 18th, 1759. Shortly afterwards he again received the thanks of Parliament, a pension of £3,000 sterling per annum, a seat in the Privy Council, and the command of the Marines. This gallant admiral was celebrated for his ready and decisive courage; and among the seamen of the Royal Navy he was long popularly called "Old Dreadnought."

---

## GOVERNORS OF LOUISBURG.

First French *régime*.

1744-1745	Major Duchambon.
1740-1744	M. Duquesnal.
1739-1740	M. de Forant.
1717-1739	M. de St. Ovide de Brouillan.
1714-1717	M. de Costabelle.

## 172 THE LAST SIEGE OF LOUISBURG.

### First British *régime*.

1745-1746	Rear-Admiral Warren.
1746-1747	Commodore Knowles.
1747-1749	Lieutenant-Colonel Hopson.

### Second French *régime*.

1749-1751	M. Desherbiers.
1751-1753	M. le Comte le Raymond, Chevalier, Seigneur d'Oye, la Cour, and other places; Brigadier-General and H.M. Lieutenant of the Towns and Castles of Angoulême.
1753-1754	M. d'Aillebout.
1754-1758	M. de Drucour.

### Second British *régime*.

1758-1760	Brigadier-General Whittemore.
-----------	-------------------------------

. . . . .

After the death of M. de Costabelle, the first Governor of Louisburg, M. de St. Ovide de Brouillan, the King's Lieutenant, administered the Government; but in 1725 the French Court appointed a successor to M. de Costabelle. This gentleman, whose name has not been ascertained by the author, was lost with M. de Chazel, the new Intendant of Canada, and De Louvigny, the Governor-Elect of Three Rivers, in *Le Chameau*, one of the fastest and best equipped line-of-battle ships in the royal navy of France, on the 25th of August, 1725, off Big Loran (Lorambee), near Louisburg. *Le Chameau*, bound into the port to land the new Governor, succumbed to a furious August gale. Her entire complement was lost, and next morning the bodies of dignitaries and ecclesiastics of New France strewn the shore, mingled with the battered corpses of men and horses, the *débris* of military material, and the vestures and utensils of the church. This disaster confirmed De Brouillan in the Governorship.

According to S. D. Macdonald, F.G.S., Coll. Nova Scotia Hist. Society, a French warship captured by Vice-Admirals Boscawen and Holburne on the banks of Newfoundland in June, 1755, had on board "the Governor of

Louisburg." This vessel was probably the *Lys*, a sixty-four, armed, however, on this occasion, with only twenty-two guns, which, with her sister ship, the *Alcide*, struck her flag after a five-hour battle with the *Dunkirk* and *Defiance* "sixties." The *Dunkirk* lost 90 men in this affair.

The combatants formed units of the powerful French armament despatched to strengthen the garrison of Louisburg and the Great Lakes and Ohio forts and a pursuing squadron of 19 British ships respectively.

The *Lys* was a very valuable prize, according to Brown, the Cape Breton historian, "having nearly £80,000 on board, besides eight companies of infantry and several officers of distinction." From the notes of Mr. S. D. Macdonald it would appear that one of the latter was the Governor of Louisburg, but whether Drucour, the last defender of the city, himself, or some other appointee to the high office of Governor of Ile Royale, is not clear.

Mr. Joseph Plimsoll Edwards, of Londonderry, Nova Scotia (Coll. Nova Scotia Hist. Society), draws attention to the interesting fact that M. de Forant, the third Governor of Louisburg, bequeathed an endowment or foundation to defray the board and tuition of eight pupils, daughters of officers, at the Louisburg convent. This, writes Mr. Edwards, is probably the first act of the sort that took place in any part of the Province. The philanthropist, who had accepted the Governorship at the special request of the King of France, died at Louisburg in May, A.D. 1740, eight months after his arrival.

Pichon, the celebrated secretary of Count Raymond, the seventh French and tenth Governor of Louisburg, bequeathed to his native town of Vire an excellent library, which was opened to the public in A.D. 1783.

Count Raymond celebrated the birth of the Duc de Bourgogne by joyous fêtes, dinners, splendid illuminations, a ball, and other generous entertainments, which delighted all Louisburg and dazzled the humble habitants of the neighbouring hamlets.

## MIRA.

Mira, referred to several times in the memoir, is a picturesque district near Louisburg, full of historic associations of the old masters of Cape Breton.

The French Governors built villas on the banks of its beautiful river, and the substantial farms tilled there by the French peasants partially supplied the necessities of the capital.

During the first and second sieges Mira was in the fighting zone, as the rendezvous of the French for attacks on the British rear, and the besiegers constantly guarded the roads extending from the city in that direction.

On May 26th, 1745, 153 New Englanders marched to Mira and destroyed a very handsome manor, in which 140 French and Indians had rendezvoused for an attack upon the New England forces in the Lighthouse Battery. They also reconnoitred a manor consisting of an imposing stone house with fine approaches, granaries, and rich fields of wheat.

During the second siege Mira was again a "thorn in the flesh" of the British, who were obliged to build a blockhouse on the Mira Road to intercept any succour despatched to the leaguered city, and to secure the grand army's communications with the north-east harbour (the site of New Louisburg).

On the night of the 26th of June the French sortied from Louisburg to destroy this blockhouse, and almost succeeded in setting it on fire. They were, however, driven back into the city by a determined charge by light infantry. The signal fires of the Franco-Indian militia, hastening overland to the succour of Louisburg, were seen to the northward of the blockhouse in July; and a sharp engagement between these intrepid troops and the British occurred on the road.

The site of this important blockhouse can be identified, and the Committee of the "Louisburg Memorial" should permanently mark it.

Mira is also interesting as the site of "Signal Hill," an elevated point upon which the French lit signal fires to communicate with the surrounding country; and other



interesting relics of the old *régime* still cluster about the district.

Mira is now devoted to agriculture and health resorts, and nothing more serious than an electoral campaign disturbs its sylvan peace. But behind the ruins of the old forts still flows the beautiful river which proved so attractive to the inhabitants of the vanished city—the “Queen River” of Ile Royale, in very truth; a panorama of sylvan pictures, sprinkled with charming glimpses of water, forest, and sky.

---

#### ERRATA.

Nine of the ships contained in the catalogue of the fleet that left Louisburg for Quebec in 1759 were at that time stationed in the St. Lawrence, with the *Princess Amelia*, the flagship of Admiral Durell, to intercept France's communications with the capital.

PRINTED BY  
CASSELL & COMPANY, LIMITED, LA BELLE SAUVAGE  
LONDON, E.C.













